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CENSURA LITERARIA.

VOLUME IX.

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BARNARD AND FARLEY,
Skinner Street, London.

CENSURA LITERARIA.

CONTAINING

TITLES, ABSTRACTS,

AND

OPINIONS

OF

OLD ENGLISH BOOKS,

WITH

ORIGINAL DISQUISITIONS, ARTICLES OF BIOGRAPHY, AND OTHER LITERARY ANTIQUITIES.

BY

SIR EGERTON BRYDGES, BART. K. J. M. P.

SECOND EDITION.

WITH THE ARTICLES CLASSED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER UNDER THEIR SEPARATE HEADS.

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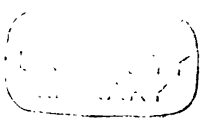

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CENSURA LITERARIA.

THE RUMINATOR.

CONTAINING A SERIES OF MORAL AND SENTIMENTAL ESSAYS.

ART. DCCLXVII.

N°. LXVIII. *An Account of Quarles's Emblems, with Specimens.*

"Dulcia sunt, pura sunt, elegantia sunt, sed non sine nervis. Sententiæ vero tales ut etiam ad usum civilis vitæ conferant." *Scaligeri de Alciati Emblematis.*

THERE is one poet of the reign of Charles the First, whose memory there were several attempts, about twenty years ago, to revive, particularly by Jackson, of Exeter, in his *Thirty Letters;* but whose poetry has sunk again from the public notice. The person I mean is FRANCIS QUARLES.

His EMBLEMS were once a very popular work, and went through numerous editions. The first edition, as far as I have yet discovered, appeared in 1635. There was an edition in 1643; and probably more than one, even in the latter half of the following century. These poems cannot boast originality; for in the plan, and frequently, I doubt not, in the very subjects, and even sentiments and expressions, they are imitated from *Her-*

man Hugo,* from whom the prints are borrowed:† with an execution, at least, strikingly inferior.

A specimen, amongst the numerous extracts which the various parts of my work exhibit, is due to the ingenious author, and may not be unacceptable to my readers from whose recollection the poet has faded. What I take shall be a fair example; neither his best, nor his worst.

Emblem XII. of Book 2. Galat. vi. 14. *God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross.*

I.

" Can nothing settle my uncertain breast,
And fix my rambling love?
Can my affections find out nothing best,
But still and still remove?
Has earth no mercy? Will no ark of rest
Receive my restless dove?

* I have a copy of Hugo's book now lying before me, with the following title: *Pia Desideria Emblematis Elegiis & Affectibus SS. Patrum illustrata, Authore Hermanno Hugone, Societatis Jesu ad Urbanum VIII. Pont. Max. Vulgavit Boetius a Bolswert typis Henrici Aertsenii Antwerpiæ M DCXXIII. cum gratia et privilegio.* Sm. 8vo. A translation appeared at London, 1686, by Edm. Arwaker, M.A. Several emblem-writers had previously appeared: as Alciatus, whose emblems were translated by Dr. Andrew Willet. We had also, in England, Geoffrey Whitney; and about the same time with Quarles appeared the Emblems of George Wither, 1635, fol.

† The prints of Books III. IV. and V. are copied in regular succession from Hugo; but in a vile manner. Now and then a very minute variation occurs; and they are all reversed. The verses seem to be sometimes translations; sometimes imitations; and sometimes original. But I have not time, while preparing this paper, to read them through, and compare them regularly.

Is there no good, than which there's nothing higher,
To bless my full desire
With joys that never change; with joys that ne'er expire?

II.

I wanted wealth, and at my dear request
Earth lent a quick supply;
I wanted wealth to charm my sullen breast;
And who more brisk than I?
I wanted fame, to glorify the rest;
My fame flew eagle-high:
My joy not fully ripe; but all decay'd;
Wealth vanish'd like a shade?
My mirth began to flag; my fame began to fade.

III.

The world's an ocean, hurried to and fro
With every blast of passion;
Her lustful streams, when either ebb or flow,
Are tides of man's vexation;
They alter daily; and they daily grow
The worse by alteration;
The earth's a cask full tunn'd, yet wanting measure;
Her precious wine is pleasure,
Her yest is honour's puff; her lees are worldly treasure.

IV.

My trust is in the Cross: let beauty flag
Her loose, her wanton sail;
Let count'nance-guiding honour cease to brag,
In courtly terms and veil;
Let ditch-bred wealth henceforth forget to wag
Her base, tho' golden tail;
False beauty's conquest is but real loss,
And wealth but golden dross;
Best honour's but a blast: my trust is in the Cross.

V.

My trust is in the Cross; there lies my rest;
My fast, my sole delight:
Let cold-mouth'd Boreas, or the hot-mouth'd East,
Blow till they burst with spite;
Let earth and hell conspire their worst, their best,
And join their twisted might;
Let showers of thunderbolts dart down, and wound me,
And troops of fiends surround me;
All this may well confront; all this shall ne'er confound me.

I shall now proceed to give the first emblem of the first book of Herman Hugo.

1.

"*Anima mea desideravit te in nocte.* ISAIÆ 26.

"Hei mihi quam densis nox incubat atra tenebris?
Talis erat, Pharios quæ tremefecit agros.
Nubila, lurida, squalida, tetrica, terribilis nox;
Nocturno in censu perdere digna locum.
Non ego tam tristes Scythico, puto, cardine lunas,
Tardat ubi lentas Parrhasis Ursa rotas:
Nec tot Cimmerio glomerantur in æthere nubes,
Unde suos Phœbus vertere jussus equos:
Nec reor invisi magis atra cubilia Ditis,
Fertur ubi furva nox habitare casa.
Nam licet hic oculis nullam dent sidera lucem,
Non tamen est omni mens viduata die:
Nocte, suam noctem populus videt ille silentûm,
Et se, Cimmerii, sole carere vident:
Arctica cum senos regnavit Cynthia menses,
Dat fratri reduci septima luna vices.
Ast me perpetuis damnat sors dira tenebris,
Nullaque vel minimo sidere flamma micat.

Et neque (quod cæcis unum solet esse levamen)
Ipsa suam noctem mens miseranda videt.
Quin tenebras amat ipsa suas; lucemque perosa,
Vertit in obscænæ noctis opaca diem.
Nempe suas animo furata superbia flammas,
Nubilat obscuro lumina cæca peplo.
Nec sinit ambitio nitidum clarescere solem,
Fuscat et ingenuas Idalis igne faces.
Heu, quoties subit illius mihi noctis imago,
Nox animo toties ingruit atra meo!
Sors oculis nostris melior, quibus ordine certo,
Alternas reparant Lunaque Solque vices!
Nam quid agat ratio, quid agat studiosa voluntas,
Quas habet, ut geminos mens peregrina duces?
Major habere oculos dolor est, ubi non datur uti,
Quam, quibus utaris, non habuisse oculos.
Qui dolet oppressus lapsis velocius umbris,
Lætior aggreditur mane viator iter.
Sed nimis hæc longas tenebris nox prorogat horas,
Quæ tibi mane negat cedere, Phœbe, diem.
Cum redit Arctoo Titan vicinior axi,
Exultat reducis quisque videre jubar.
Scilicet Auroræ gens vertitur omnis in ortus,
Quisque parat primus dicere, Phœbus adest!
Sic ego, sæpe oculos tenui sublimis Olympo,
Aspiciens, gemino qui jacet orbe, Polum.
Et dixi tam sæpe; Nitesce, Nitesce, meus Sol!
Sol mihi tam multos non venerate dies!
Exorere, Exorere, et medios saltem exere vultus,
Vel scintilla tui sola sat esse potest.
Si quoque vel tantos renuis mihi luminis usum,
Sufficiet vultus expetiisse tuos.

" *Emblem I. of Book III. of Quarles. My soul hath desired thee in the night.* ISAIAH xxvi. 6.

" Good God! What horrid darkness doth surround
My groping soul! how are my senses bound
In utter shades; and muffled from the light,
Lurk in the bosom of eternal night!
The bold-fac'd lamp of heaven can set and rise,
And with his morning glory fill the eyes
Of gazing mortals; his victorious ray
Can chase the shadows and restore the day:
Night's bashful empress, tho' she often wain,
As oft repents her darkness, primes again;
And with her circling horns doth re-embrace
Her brother's wealth, and orbs her silver face.
But ah! my sun, deep swallow'd in his fall,
Is set, and cannot shine, nor rise at all:
My bankrupt wain can beg nor borrow light;
Alas! my darkness is perpetual night.
Falls have their risings; wainings have their primes,
And desperate sorrows wait their better times:
Ebbs have their floods; and Autumns have their Springs;
All states have changes, hurried with the swings
Of chance and time, still riding to and fro:
Terrestrial bodies, and celestial too.
How often have I vainly grop'd about,
With lengthen'd arms, to find a passage out,
That I might catch those beams mine eye desires,
And bathe my soul in these celestial fires!
Like as the haggard, cloister'd in her mew,
To scour her downy robes, and to renew
Her broken flags, preparing t' overlook
The timorous mallard at the sliding brook,

Jets off from perch to perch; from stock to ground,
From ground to window, thus surveying round
Her dove-befeathered prison, till at length
Calling her noble birth to mind, and strength
Whereto her wing was born, her ragged beak
Nips off her jangling jesses, strives to break
Her jingling fetters, and begins to bate
At every glimpse, and darts at every grate:
E'en so my weary soul, that long has been
An inmate in this tenement of sin,
Lock'd up by cloud-brow'd error, which invites
My cloister'd thoughts to feed on black delights,
Now suns her shadows, and begins to dart
Her wing'd desires at thee, that only art
The sun she seeks, whose rising beams can fright
These dusky clouds that make so dark a night:
Shine forth, great glory, shine; that I may see,
Both how to loath myself, and honour thee:
But if my weakness force thee to deny
Thy flames, yet lend the twilight of thine eye!
If I must want those beams I wish, yet grant
That I at least may wish those beams I want.

Quarles died Sep. 8, 1644, æt. 52. A *Relation of his Life and Death*, by his widow, Ursula Quarles, was prefixed to his *Solomon's Recantation*, 1645, 4*to.* and has been lately reprinted before the new edition* of his *Judgment and Mercy for afflicted Souls*, 1807,

* "*Judgment and Mercy for afflicted Souls; or Meditations, Soliloquies, and Prayers.* By *Francis Quarles. A new Edition, with a Biographical and Critical Introduction, by Reginald Wolfe*, Esq." [i. e. Rev. T. F. Dibdin.] *London*, printed for Longman and Co. 1807, pp. 332.

8vo. accompanied by an excellent copy, by Freeman, from Marshall's print of him.*

Art. DCCLXVIII.

N°. LXIX. *On false Honour.*

"Falsus honor juvat
Quem nisi mendosum et mendacem?"

TO THE RUMINATOR.

SIR,

There are, I believe, few terms more commonly used, few sounds more generally captivating than hat of honour. From the moment when our infancy ceases, to that in which old age begins to creep upon us, it is the theme of every pen, the boast of every tongue. It is the schoolboy's assertion, the lover's vow, and the peer's judicial declaration. If

* The following short notice may be here given of another publication of Quarles; "*Divine Poems; revised and corrected, with Additions. By the Author, Fra. Quarles. Printed for John Marriott,* in St. Dunstan's church-yard, Fleetstreet, 1630." On an engraved title-page, by T. Cecill, *small* 8vo. *pp.* 502. N. B. The printed title has the date 1633. It contains, I. A Feast for Wormes. II. Pentelogia, dated 1632. III. Hadassa, 1632. The running title is, "The Historie of Ester." IV. Job Militant, printed by *Miles Flesher*, 1632. V. The Historie of Samson. VI. Sion's Sonnets, sung by Solomon the King, and periphrased. VII. Sion's Elegies, wept by Jeremie the Prophet, and periphrased. VIII. An Alphabet of Elegies, upon the much and truly lamented death of that famous for learning, piety, and true friendship, Doctor Ailmer, a great favourer and fast friend to the Muses, and late Archdeacon of London. Imprinted in his heart that ever loves his memorie. Ob. Jan. 6th, 1625.

it be falsified, the man is deemed worthy of no farther trust; nor is even the sacred obligation of an oath supposed to be capable of binding him whom honour cannot restrain. Honour necessarily includes in it the idea of the dazzling quality of courage; and this is probably the chief reason why the imputation of falsehood cannot be washed off but by blood. For falsehood is the very reverse of courage, and always implies cowardice; inasmuch as no man can deny a fact, or assert an untruth, but from natural fear, or from a still baser motive. Hence honour is the idol of the bold and truly brave; and even those who in reality possess it not, lay claim to it for the sake of the opinion of the world.

True honour, therefore, may be defined as a principle which exerts itself beyond mere duty, and supplies its real or supposed deficiencies; which binds where laws do not; and which extends its sacred influence to cases in which conscience does not interfere, and religion is supposed to be silent. But the honour in common use is of a more accomodating nature; and as every man so frames it as to suit with his own particular inclinations, it is perhaps the only subject on which all agree. The man of the world and the man of God; the bigot and the infidel; the soldier and the tradesman; the highwayman and the passenger whom he plunders; the prostitute and the woman of virtue; all sound alike the praises of honour, and profess to be governed by its dictates.

And so, Sir, they really are. It is no idle boast. They are all, except the truly religious man, subser-

vient, according to their own views of it, to that vain phantom which they dignify with that splendid appellation; and which they mould into every form that may suit their various pursuits and fancies. Ask what is honour? The soldier will tell you it is bravery, and the prompt revenging every real or supposed injury; the tradesman, honesty in his dealings; the infidel, independence on the base principle of future rewards and punishments; the highwayman, fidelity towards his comrades; the prostitute, faith towards the man who is her present keeper;* the man of the world, courage sufficient to fight a duel. In him this is all that is required. Let him intrigue with the wife of his dearest friend, seduce his daughter, and ruin his fortune by the blackest arts of a gambler; if he will then give him satisfaction, and complete the whole by his murder, he is refused admittance into no society, he is caressed and admired by all; he may be called a little wild, and rather too free in his manners, but—he is a man of strict honour.

There is, however, a striking anecdote on record, which shews, that even soldiers do not always agree exactly in their notions of this fascinating quality. At the battle of the Boyne, General Hamilton was taken prisoner, and brought before William the Third. Now Hamilton, after having sworn allegiance to William, and received promotion from him, had deserted his service, and joined his old

* I beg pardon; I mean, towards the gentleman under whose *protection* she lives.

Vide the late proceedings in the House of Commons.

master, James the Second. When he was brought into William's presence, that monarch asked him, if he thought the Irish would rally and make another charge? "Upon my honour, Sir," said Hamilton, "I believe they will." "Your *honour*, Sir, *your* honour," was the king's emphatical reply; and the only notice he condescended to take of his treachery.

Surely then this far-famed principle of action is extolled beyond its deserts. Surely so capricious a motive, so uncertain in its effects, and so varying in its application, cannot be of general utility, or extensively beneficial to society. It reminds me of the Clown's "O Lord, Sir," in Shakespeare; an answer to every question, a cap for every head. Arrived at that thinking and examining time of life, when I am hastily falling "into the sere and yellow leaf," I am no longer "dazzled with the whistling of a name," but rather inclined to inquire into pretensions which seem so doubtful, and bring them to the certain test of *sincerity, soberness, and truth*.

If then it be true, that the opinions of men upon this subject differ so materially, and that each person finds that conduct honourable which is agreeable either to his interest, or his usual habits of thinking and acting, surely it will not be easy always to discriminate between true and false honour, unless we can discover an unerring standard by which to try them. Happily for the world there is a standard always at hand, and which will never deceive us—*To the law and to the testimony*. The passions may mislead, self-interest bias, judgment

deceive, and men, even good men, differ very materially from each other. But there is a rule certain, unvarying, plain, and applicable to every case. It came from heaven. No appeal can lie from its decisions; no authority be pleaded against its dictates. There is no action or principle of human life, to which the precepts of the Christian religion cannot be applied. Since the blessing of that light has been given to the world, honour, in its common acceptation, is at best useless; a *nomen inane*, a *brutum fulmen*. But it is too often perverted to purposes positively bad; and this may always be known, if the action to which it is applied be tried by the rules of the Gospel. These are the true spear of Ithuriel, touched by which, all vanity, falsehood, and folly, appears in its true light. If this be the true test, I find that a man of honour may embitter my happiness in this life, and deprive me of the hopes of a better; may poison my domestic enjoyments, ruin my fortune, and at last murder myself; and that a man who acts upon Christian principles can do me nothing but good here, and lead me to nothing but good hereafter. P. M.

Art. DCCLXIX.

N°. LXX. *On the Translations of Homer, by Pope and Cowper.*

"—— si modo ego et vos
Scimus in urbanum lepido seponere dicto,
Legitimumque sonum digitis callemus et aure." *Hor.*

TO THE RUMINATOR.

Sir,

There are perhaps few persons who either have, or think they have, any talents for poetry, or any

ear for verse, who have not made some attempts at translation. It seems to be the natural commencement of the versifier's (for I will not say the poet's) career. The plan, the thoughts, the action, even the epithets are ready made; and his greatest difficulty seems to be, to render them faithfully, and to clothe them in elegant and appropriate language. Yet in reality it will be found no light and easy task; and if the numerous translations from the best poets which have appeared in our own language are critically examined, no one, I believe, can be found so perfect as not to be liable to powerful, and even unanswerable objections.

No person can be a judge of the merit of a translation who has not a competent knowledge of the original language. Upon this principle I assume as a *datum*, that every version which does not keep as close as the vernacular tongue will admit, to the manners, the customs, and the pronunciation of proper names of the original, is so far faulty and imperfect, however flowing may be its verse, however elegant its language. For although the mere English reader may approve, considering such a work abstractedly upon its own merits, a scholar must be shocked and disgusted by such palpable absurdities.

I was led into these reflections by reading lately some parts of that admirable poem, the Iliad of Pope, concerning which I agree with Johnson, that "it is certainly the noblest version of poetry which the world has ever seen." Yet surely even a school-boy cannot read it without perceiving, from

its deficiencies, redundancies, and in some instances, false quantities, that Pope was no scholar. Something, no doubt, may and ought to be allowed by way of poetic licence; but surely in a work so copious in notes, no alteration of, or deviation from, the original, ought to have been passed over without an apology.

An inexcusable example, for instance, either of carelessness or freedom, occurs in the offering of the heir of Achilles on the funeral pile of Patroclus, which had been devoted to the river Sperchius. The name of the river-god twice occurs in the same place, and each time the translator makes the second syllable of it *short;* contrary, not only to the authority of his original, and of every other ancient poet, but also to himself in another place. In the xvith book, l. 212, he says properly,

"Divine Sperchius! Jove-descended flood!"

And yet ventures to assert the same word in book xxiii. v. 175, and 178 differently,

"And sacred grew, to Sperchius' honour'd flood,
Sperchius! whose waves in mazy errors lost."

And without deigning to notice it, although there is a pretty long note upon the first of these lines.

The learned and truly classical translator of the Greek tragedians, Potter, has not fallen into the same fault. In his version of Sophocles's Philoctetes he renders the line in which this river is mentioned,

"And to Sperchius, beauteous-rolling stream."

But to my great surprise on consulting Cowper, who was certainly a much better scholar than Pope, he has committed the same error, and writes, without any note or acknowledgment,

> "Sacred to Sperchius he had kept unshorn,
> Sperchius! in vain, Peleus, my father vow'd."

Concerning the true pronunciation of the word no doubt can exist; it is spelt in Greek with a diphthong, Σπερχειος; and it is found in four places in Homer, in two in Statius, in Sophocles, in Virgil, in Ovid, and in Lucan, with the middle syllable uniformly long.

With respect to Pope's deficiencies and redundancies in his celebrated translation, they are both sufficiently obvious to those who have compared it with the original; but I am tempted to produce one curious instance in which both occur at the same time. In the twenty-first book of the Iliad, after relating the battle of the gods in the plains of Troy, (perhaps the weakest passage in the whole of that noble poem) Diana is represented as making her complaints to Jupiter, who inquires who has so ill treated her. She replies, v. 512 and 513.

> Σε μ' αλοχος στυφελιξε, παΐερ, λευκωλενος Ηρη,
> Εξ ης αθαναΐοισιν ερις και νεικος εφηπται.

That is, literally; "Thy wife, O father, has ill-used me, the white arm'd Juno, from whom strife and contention arise among the immortals." This plain answer is rendered by Pope,

"Abash'd, she names his own imperial spouse;
And the pale crescent fades upon her brows."

Now these lines are obviously *deficient* in not saying one word of the character of Juno, who is pointed out in the original as the cause of all these disputes; and they are *redundant* in using the word *abashed*, and in the whole of the second line, of which not one word or syllable, nor even the slightest allusion * to the thought, is to be found in Homer. And it is a singular instance of bad taste to put a *concetto* into the mouth of the venerable Grecian, which would be a prettiness scarcely endurable in a modern Italian sonnet. Yet with all its faults, Pope's translation will be read and admired while its rivals either repose in quiet on their shelves, or jog on *in vicum vendentem thus et odores:*

P. M.

Art. DCCLXX.

N°. LXXI. *Latin Translation of Gray's Elegy.*

"Nec verbum verbo curabis reddere fidus
Interpres: nec desilies imitator in arctum." *Hor.*

The following Latin translation of Gray's Elegy; being printed in the form of a fugitive pamphlet, and the name of the translator being unknown to me† (the title page in which perhaps the

* If the epithet applied to Diana in the preceding line, ευστεφανος, be supposed to allude at all to her crescent, it must be in a sense precisely opposite to that which Pope has given it, and to point out its beauty, and not its fading.

† It turns out to be *Anstey's*, as the author discovered, soon after this was written.

name appeared being lost) my classical readers will not be displeased to have it here preserved.

"*Ad Poetam.*

"Nos quoque per tumulos, et amica Silentia dulcis
Raptat Amor; Tecum liceat, Divine Poeta,
Ire simul, tacitâque lyram pulsare sub umbrâ.
Non tua securos fastidit Musa Penates,
Non humiles habitare casas, et sordida Rura;
Quamvis radere iter liquidum super ardua Cœli
Cærula, Pindaricâ non expallesceret Alâ.
Quod si Te Latiæ numeros audire Camœnæ
Non piget, et nostro vacat indulgere labori;
Fortè erit, ut vitreas recubans Anienis ad undas,
Te doceat resonare nemus, Te flumina, Pastor,
Et tua cæruleâ discet Tiberinus in Urnâ
Carmina, cum tumulos præterlabetur agrestes.
Et cum pallentes inter numeraberis Umbras,
Cum neque Te vocale melos, neque murmura fontis
Castalii, citharæve sonus, quam strinxit Apollo,
Ex humili ulteriùs poterint revocare cubili;
Quamvis nulla tuum decorent Insignia Bustum,
At pia Musa super, nostræ nihil indiga Laudis,
Perpetuas aget excubias, lacrymâque perenni
Nutriet ambrosios in odoro Cespite flores."

"*Elegia, &c.*

"Audin' ut occiduæ signum Campana Diei
Vespertina sonet! flectunt se tarda per agros,
Mugitusque armenta cient, vestigia Arator
Fessa domum trahit, et solus sub nocte reliquor.

Nunc rerum species evanida cedit, et omnis
Aura silet, nisi quà pigro Scarabæus in orbes

Murmure se volvat, nisi tintinnabula longè
Dent sonitum, faciles pecori suadentia somnos;

Aut nisi sola sedens hederoso in culmine Turris
Ad Lunam effundat lugubres Noctua cantus,
Visa queri, propter secretos fortè recessus
Si quis eat, turbetque antiqua et inhospita Regna.

Hìc subterque rudes ulmos, Taxique sub umbrâ
Quà super ingestus crebro tumet aggere Cespes,
Æternùm posuere angusto in Carcere duri
Villarum Patres, et longa oblivia ducunt.

Non vox Auroræ croceos spirantis odores,
Non quæ stramineo de tegmine stridit Hirundo,
Non Galli tuba clara, neque hos resonabile Cornu,
Ex humili ulteriùs poterunt revocare cubili:

Non illis splendente foco renovabitur ignis,
Sedula nec curas urgebit vespere Conjux;
Non Patris ad reditum tenero balbutiet ore,
Certatimve amplexa genu petet Oscula Proles.

Illis sæpe seges maturâ cessit Aristâ;
Illi sæpe graves fregerunt vomere glebas;
Ah! quoties læti sub plaustra egere Juvencos!
Ah! quoties duro nemora ingemuere sub ictu!

Nec vitam utilibus quæ incumbit provida curis,
Nec sortem ignotam, securaque gaudia Ruris
Rideat Ambitio, tumidove Superbia fastu
Annales Inopum quoscunque audire recuset.

Sceptri grande decus, generosæ stirpis honores,
Quicquid opes, aut forma dedit, commune sepulchrum
Opprimit, et læti non evitabilis hora.
Ducit Laudis iter tantùm ad confinia Mortis.

Parcite sic tellure sitis (ita fata volebant)
Si nulla in memori surgant Insignia Busto,
Quà longos per Templi aditus, laqueataque tecta,
Divinas iterare solent gravia Organa Laudes.

Inscriptæne valent Urnæ, spirantiaque æra,
Ad sedes fugientem animam revocare relictas?
Dicite, sollicitet cineres si fama repostos?
Gloria si gelidas Fatorum mulceat Aures?

Quis scit, an hìc Animus neglectâ in sede quiescat,
Qui prius incaluit cœlestis semine flammæ?
Quis scit, an hìc sceptri Manus haud indigna recumbat,
Quæve lyræ poterat magicum inspirâsse furorem?

Annales sed nulla suos His Musa reclusit,
Dives opum variarum, et longo fertilis ævo:
Pauperies angusta sacros compescuit ignes,
Et vivos animi glaciavit frigore cursus.

Sæpe coruscantes paro fulgore sub antris
Abdidit Oceanus, cæcoque in gurgite gemmas;
Neglectus sæpe, in solis qui nascitur agris,
Flos rubet, inque auras frustra disperdit Odorem.

Hìc aliquis fortè Hamdenus, qui pectora firmo
Obstitit Imperio parvi in sua rura Tyranni,
Miltonus tumulo rudis atque inglorius illo
Dormiat, aut patrii Cromvellius sanguinis insons.

Eloquio attenti moderarier ora Senatûs,
Exitium sæviquæ minas ridere doloris,
Per patriam largos Fortunæ divitis imbres
Spargere, et in læto populi se agnoscere vultu,

Hos sua sors vetuit; tenuique in Limite clausit
Virtutes, sodalesque simul compescuit ortum;

Ad solium cursus per cædem urgere cruentos,
Atque tuas vetuit, Clementia, claudere portas.

Conatus premere occultos, quos conscia Veri
Mens fovet, ingenuique extinguere signa pudoris,
Luxuriæque focos cumulare, Ædemque superbam,
Thure, quod in sacris Musarum adoleverat aris.

Insanæ procul amotis certamine turbæ
Sobria non illis didicerunt Vota vagari;
Securum vitæ per iter, vallemque reductam,
Servabant placidum, cursu fallente, tenorem.

His tamen incautus tumulis ne fortè Viator
Insultet, videas circum monimenta caduca,
Quà numeris incompositis, rudibusque figuris
Ossa tegit lapis, et suspiria poscit euntem.

Pro mœstis Elegis, culto pro carmine, scribit
Quicquid Musa potest incondita, Nomen et Annos:
Multaque queis animum moriens solatur Agrestis,
Dogmata dispergit sacrai Scripturai.

Sollicitæ quis enim, quis amatæ dulcia Vitæ
Tædia, sustinuit mutare silentibus umbris;
Deseruitve almæ confinia læta diei,
Nec desiderio cunctantia Lumina flexit?

Projicit in gremium sese moriturus amicum,
Deficiensque oculus lacrymas, pia munera, poscit;
Quinetiam fida ex ipso Natura Sepulchro
Exclamat, solitoque relucent igne favillæ.

At te, cui curæ tumulo sine honore jacentes,
Incomptoque memor qui pingis agrestia versu;
Si quis erit, tua qui cognato pectore quondam
Fata roget, solâ secum meditatus in umbrâ,

Fortè aliquis memoret, canus jam Tempora Pastor,
" Illum sæpe novo sub Lucis vidimus ortu
" Verrentem propero matutinos pede Rores,
" Nascenti super arva jugosa occurrere Soli.

" Illic antiquas ubi torquet devia fagus
" Radices per humum, patulo sub tegmine, lassus
" Solibus æstivis, se effundere sæpe solebat,
" Lumina fixa tenens, rivumque notare loquacem.

" Sæpe istam assuetus prope sylvam errare, superbum
" Ridens nescio quid; nunc multa abnormia volvens,
" Aut desperanti similis nunc pallidus ibat,
" Ut curâ insanus, miserove agitatus Amore.

" Mane erat, et solito non illum in colle videbam,
" Non illum in campo, notâ nec in arboris umbrâ:
" Jamque nova est exorta Dies; neque flumina propter,
" Nec propter sylvam, aut arvis erat ille jugosis.

" Adveniente aliâ, portatum hunc ordine mœsto
" Vidimus, et tristes quà semita ducit ad Ædem
" Rite ire Exequias; ades huc, et perlege Carmen
" (Nam potes,) inscriptum lapidi sub vepre vetustâ."

" *Epitaphium.*

" Nec famæ, neque notus, hìc quiescit,
Fortunæ Juvenis, super silenti
Telluris gremio caput reponens.
Non cunas humiles, Laremque parvum
Contempsit pia Musa; flebilisque
Jussit Melpomene suum vocari.

Huic largum fuit, integrumque pectus,
Et largum tulit a Deo favorem:
Solum quod potuit dare, indigenti

Indulsit lacrymam; Deusque Amicum,
Quod solum petiit, dedit roganti.

Virtutes fuge curiosus ultra
Scrutari; fuge sedibus tremendis
Culpas eruere, in Patris Deique
Illic mente sacrâ simul repostæ
Inter spemque metumque conquescunt."

Art. DCCLXXI.

N°. LXXII. *Bishop Warburton's Characters of the Historians of the Civil Wars.*

"Bella plusquam civilia." Lucan.

I cannot fill this paper better, or more to the purpose of my present work, than by extracting the following very interesting literary notices from Bishop Warburton's correspondence with Bishop Hurd, lately published.

"In studying this period," (the Civil Wars of the Sixteenth Century) "the most important, the most wonderful in all history, I suppose you will make Lord Clarendon's incomparable performance your ground-work. I think it will be understood to advantage, by reading as an introduction to it, *Rapin's* Reign of James I. and the first fourteen years of Charles I.

"After this will follow *Whitlock's Memoirs*.* It

* First published 1682; and again with many additions; and a better index, 1732. Bulstrode Whitelocke, son of Sir James Whitelocke, a judge of the Common Pleas, who died 1632, was born 1605; was educated to the law; and was one of Cromwell's Lords, 1657. He died at Chilton, Wilts, 1676.

is only a journal or diary, very ample and full of important matters. The writer was learned in his own profession; thought largely in religion by means of his friendship with Selden: for the rest, he is vain and pedantic, and on the whole, a little genius.

"*Ludlow's Memoirs*;* as to its composition, is below criticism: as to the matter curious enough. With what spirit written, you may judge by his character, which was that of a furious, mad, but I think, apparently honest republican, and independent.

"*May's History of the Parliament* † is a just composition, according to the rules of history. It is written with much judgment, penetration, manliness, and spirit, and with a candour, that will greatly increase your esteem, when you understand, that he wrote by order of his masters, the Parliament. It breaks off (much to the loss of the history of that time) just when their armies were new modelled by the self-denying ordinance: this loss was attempted to be supplied by.

"*Sprigge's History of Fairfax's Exploits*,‡—non passibus æquis. He was chaplain to the general, is

* Printed at Vevay, in the canton of Berne, 1698, 2 vols. 8vo. and a 3d vol. with a collection of original papers, 1699, 8vo. Edmund Ludlow was born 1620; educated to the law; and died at Vevay in Switzerland, 1693, ætat. 73.

† 1647, Fol. lately reprinted by Baron Maseres. Thomas May, well known as a poet, has been already noticed in this work.

‡ *Anglia Rediviva*; England's Recovery, &c. 1647. Fol. Sprigge was born 1618; married about 1674, the widow of James Fienes, Viscount Say and Sele, daughter of Edward, Viscount Wimbledon, and died 1684. *Wood's Ath.* II. 761.

not altogether devoid of *May's* candour, though he has little of his spirit. *Walker* says it was written by the famous Col. Fienes, though under *Spriggs's* name. It is altogether a military history, as the following one of *Walker*, called *The History of Independency*,* is a civil one; or rather of the nature of a political pamphlet against the Independents. It is full of curious anecdotes; though written with much fury, by a wrathful Presbyterian member, who was cast out of the saddle with the rest by the Independents.

"*Milton* was even with him in the fine and severe character he draws of the Presbyterian Administration, which you will find in the beginning of one of his books of the *History of England*, in the late uncastrated editions. In the course of the study of these writers, you will have perpetual occasion to verify or refute what they deliver, by turning over the authentic pieces in *Nalson's*, and especially *Rushworth's* voluminous collections, which are vastly curious and valuable.

"The *Elenchus Motuum*† of *Bates*, and *Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs*‡ may be worth reading. Nor must that strange thing of *Hobbes* be forgot, called *The History of the Civil Wars:* it is in dialogue, and full of paradoxes, like all his other writings. More philosophical, political,—or any thing rather than historical; yet full of shrewd ob-

* See Cens. Lit. IV. 171.

† Paris, 1649; Franc. ad Mæn. 1650, 4to. George Bate the author was a physician, born 1606, died 1669. *Wood's Ath.* II. 422.

‡ See Cens. Lit. IV. 163.

servations. When you have digested the history of this period, you will find in *Thurloe's** large collection† many letters, which will let you throroughly into the genius of those times and manners."

In a letter, a few years afterwards on the publication of Lord *Clarendon's Continuation*, or *Life*, the Bishop says, "It is full of a thousand curious anecdotes, and fully answers my expectations, as much as *Butler's Remains* fell short of it. I was tired to death, before I got to the end of his characters, whereas I wished the history ten times longer than it is. Walpole in reading the former part of this will blush, if he has any sense of shame, for his abuse of Lord Falkland.

"Mr. Gray has certainly true taste. I should have read *Hudibras* with as much indifference, perhaps, as he did, was it not for my fondness of the transactions of those times, against which it is a satire. Besides, it induced me to think the author of a much higher class, than his *Remains* shew him to have been. And I can now readily think the comedies he wrote were as excusable, as the satirists of that age make them to be!"

Again—"What made the *Continuation of the History* not afford you all the entertainment which perhaps you expected, was not, I persuade myself,

* In the mind of the learned bishop, as is frequently the case with men of warm fancies, objects sometimes shift their hues. In a letter a few weeks before he had said, "there is little or nothing in that enormous collection of *Thurloe* worth notice," p. 146.

† Published by Dr. Birch in 7 vols. Fol. John Thurloe was secretary of state to the Cromwells. He was born 1616, and died 1668, aged 51.

(when you think again) the subject, but the execution. Do not you read Tacitus, who had the worst, with the same pleasure as Livy, who had the best subject? The truth is, in one circumstance, (and but in one) but that a capital, the *Continuation* is not equal to the *History of the Rebellion;* and that is in the composition of the characters. There is not the same terseness, the same elegance, the same sublime and master-touches in these, which make those superior to every thing of their kind.

"But with all the defects of this posthumous work, I read it with a pleasure surpassed by nothing but my disgust to the posthumous works of Butler. Whence could this difference arise in these works of sheer wit and sheer wisdom? I suppose from this, that sheer wit, being indeed folly, is opposite to sheer wisdom."

Dr. Hurd makes the following remarks in answer. "The composition of the characters in Lord Clarendon's *Continuation* is, as you truly observe, its chief fault: of which the following, I suppose, may be the reason. Besides that business and age, and misfortunes, had perhaps sunk his spirits, the *Continuation* is not so properly the history of the first six years of Charles the Second, as an anxious apology for the share himself had in the administration. This has hurt the composition in several respects. Amongst others, he could not with decency allow his pen that scope in his delineation of the chief characters of the court, who were all his personal enemies, as he had done in that of the enemies to the King and Monarchy in the Grand Rebellion. The endeavour to keep up a shew of candour, and

especially to prevent the appearance of a rancorous resentment, has deadened his colouring very much, besides that it made him sparing in the use of it. Else, his inimitable pencil had attempted, at least to do justice to Bennet, to Berkeley, to Coventry, to the nightly cabal of facetious memory, to the Lady, and if his excessive loyalty had not intervened, to his infamous master himself. That there was somewhat of this in the case, seems clear from some passages where he was not so restrained; such, for instance, as the additional touches to Falkland's and Southampton's characters. With all this, I am apt to think there may still be something in what I said of the nature of the subject. Exquisite virtue and enormous vice afford a fine field for the historian's genius. And hence Livy and Tacitus are, in their way, perhaps equally entertaining. But the little intrigues of a selfish court, *about carrying or defeating this or that measure, about displacing this, and bringing in that minister*, which interest nobody very much but the parties concerned, can hardly be made very striking by any abilities of the relator. If Cardinal de Retz has succeeded, his scene was busier, and of another nature from that of Lord Clarendon. But however this be, and when all abatements are made, one finds the same gracious facility of expression; above all, one observes the same love of virtue and dignity of sentiment, which ennobled the *History of the Rebellion*. And if *this* raises one's ideas, most, of the *writer*, the *Continuation* supports and confirms all that one was led to conceive of the *man and the minister*.

Art. DCCLXXII.

N°. LXXIII. *On Seclusion amid magnificient Scenery.*

"These are the haunts of meditation, these
The scenes, where antient bards th' expiring breath
Extatic felt; and from this world retir'd
Convers'd with angels." Thomson.

MR. RUMINATOR.

I write from an impulse of gratitude. At this delightful season, when a poetic imagination acquires redoubled influence, I reflect with enthusiasm on the many hours of enjoyment which your lucubrations have bestowed on me. In those Essays, Sir, I have ever met with sentiments with which it has afforded me the purest pleasure to feel my own ideas in unison; though I know not with what propriety I now trouble you with this declaration, coming from an unknown and obscure individual. Sir, there is a certain mode of life, and peculiarity of situation, which is more likely than any other to produce and cherish poetic enthusiasm. To be accustomed from infancy to the deepest seclusion, and to the wild and majestic scenery of nature, though accompanied with some disadvantages, is perhaps the greatest means of laying a foundation for this temper of mind. The placid tranquillity of verdant woods, the roaring of the mountain torrent, the sweet interchange, and inexpressible influence of morn and evening, contemplated in the bosom of magnificent scenery, must sooner or later, produce, in a mind possessed of any feeling, a correspondent glow of senti-

ment and imagination. Even Johnson, whose indifference to rural beauty is well known, has yet borne testimony in one of the most striking passages of his Journey through Scotland to its powerful influence. I have not the book within reach, and therefore cannot quote; but the passage is probably known to every reader whom I should wish to interest.

From my earliest recollections, I have been familiarized to seclusion, in a beautiful and sequestered corner of the country. To you, Sir, it is unnecessary to describe the various enjoyments, which, in a situation of this kind, must await a mind attached to contemplation, and which can employ itself in pursuit of the Muses. It has been my supreme delight to wander through groves, and sequestered vallies, where no intruder was ever known to disturb the freedom of solitary meditation; and to indulge myself in pouring forth, amid the blast that swept over the neighbouring forest, innumerable attempts at poetical composition, with but little consideration of their fate, or regard to correctness. But heavens! how boundless are the intentions; how wild and impossible the designs! and above all, how glorious and transporting the poetical visions, which have adorned the day-dreams in which I so much delighted to indulge! Even now I cannot help reflecting with enthusiasm on the unmixed happiness which I then enjoyed. One remark very forcibly occurs to my recollection, which is, that of all the classical authors known to me at present, *those* which formerly became my associates, in wandering through the woods, and which I was accustomed to read

aloud to the dashing waterfall, are recollected with most gratitude, and above all others most forcibly imprinted on the memory. I cannot however, when talking of a country life, use the words of Cowper,

> "I never framed a wish, or formed a plan,
> That flattered me with hopes of earthly bliss,
> But here I laid the scene!"

for having been told that it was most commendable to follow some profession, I conquered, in idea, every obstacle, and established my abode in cities, amid 'the hum of men,' with as little difficulty as I had before entered the court of the Fairy Queen, or quaffed ale along with warriors, in the hall of Odin. But the time has at last arrived, when these threats were to be put into execution; and when that which is commonly called life began to dawn—Alas, Mr. Ruminator! I have here found a brilliant imagination to be but a deceitful guide. My golden visions have fled like the morning cloud: I have entered the crowded ball-room, mingled with the train of orators and statesmen; and returned fevered with disappointment, to search again for repose in the bosom of the forest, where alone it could be found. In this situation I now am. After having once given the reins to poetical fancy, it is difficult indeed to stop its career; and I remain at present in doubt whether to struggle against its influence, by mingling again with the world, or to follow, without further hesitation, the precepts contained in an epigram of Martial, elegantly translated in a late number of your Essays.

It was my intention to wind up this letter with a

very juvenile effusion in verse, which seemed not inapplicable to the present subject; but recollecting that a copy of these verses may exist in the possession of a friend, I dread the risk, (notwithstanding my insignificance) of becoming in any degree known, until I find what reception you may give to this feeble and hurried transcript of my feelings.

Yours,

MUSARUM AMATOR.

May 2, 1809.

ART. DCCLXXIII.

N°. LXXIV. *On the deceitfulness of Hope. Farewell of the Ruminator.*

" ——— Qui prorogat horam
Rusticus expectat, dum defluat amnis." HOR.

" ——— As when a traveller
At night's approach, content with the next cot,
There ruminates awhile.——
Thus I long travell'd in the ways of men,
And dancing with the rest the giddy maze,
Where disappointment smiles at Hope's career,
At length have hous'd me in an humble shed."

YOUNG.

THE delusions of hope have been among the most trite topics of the moralist. The Ruminator feels them on the present occasion with no common force. He had flattered himself that his lucubrations might have proceeded to at least double their present length. But to plan and to act are widely different. He has deferred the execution of half

his purposes till it is too late, and the close of the CENSURA brings them to a termination before their time.

Thus disheartened, he has wanted energy sufficient to perform the little that might still have been done, and passed two or three months in a state of listlessness and idleness such as he has not experienced for years. A number of favourite subjects remain untouched; and a number of fragments unused.

Even this last paper has been deferred, from the wish to execute it well, till the languor of over wearied thought has diminished the usual degree of ability; and time scarcely remains to execute it at all.

To look back on what is past, is an employment too fearful for the present spirits of the Author. "The toil," says Johnson, "with which performance struggles after idea, is so irksome and disgusting, and so frequent is the necessity of resting below that perfection, which we imagined within our reach, that seldom any man obtains more from his endeavours, than a painful conviction of his defects, and a continual resuscitation of desires, which he feels himself unable to gratify."

But he who declines to act till he can reach ideal excellence, is a selfish coward; and surely he, who by a generous venture attains a very moderate degree of merit, is at least far preferable to him who wraps himself up in conceit of his own importance, because he never made an attempt.

Of many of the defects of the series of moral and critical essays the Ruminator is too sensible, to add

his aid to the discernment of others in discovering them. Almost all the interest which they lay claim to is, that they are (such of them he means as were written by himself) the undisguised pictures of his own mind. And we have many high authorities for asserting, that there are scarce any minds, however small their pretensions may be to extraordinary endowment, of which genuine and unsophisticated delineations will not afford either instruction or amusement.

To say the same things as have been said a thousand times before, not from individual feeling or individual conviction, but merely by drawing from the stores of the memory, may perhaps be fairly deemed an hollow and unavailing echo. But it is far otherwise with that, which springs from the inmost recesses of the heart or the intellect. There is a strength, a distinctness, a raciness, in what thus issues from the fountain-head, which is never brought forth in vain.

All the varieties of the human understanding, the different lights in which the same objects appear to different faculties and dispositions, the minute shades of distinction which the complex operations of head and temper suggest, afford inexhaustible subjects of description for the use of the moral philosopher, and the metaphysician, to whom such descriptions possess the merit and use of original evidence, while the transmissions of the memory are, like hear-say testimony, of little value.

If the flow of feeling have ever given to these Essays any approach to eloquence, if the movements of the heart have produced any thing of more permanent in-

terest than the capricious and uncertain operations of the head, the writer's time and endeavours will not have been spent totally in vain.

If it be complained that the same topics more often recur than is consistent with the love of diversity which characterizes the public taste, let it be recollected, that nothing much above the common can be hoped, even from the most powerful talents, without long meditation and mental digestion; and surely it is better to dwell on that which gives the chance of displaying depth and novelty of thought, than to skim the surface for the sake of a greater change of views; for it cannot be expected that the same person should have leisure, or inclination for both.

The generality of mankind indeed spend their days in a kind of twilight of thought: ideas pass indistinctly before them, without examination, or being tried by the test of language; or at least by any other language than that which in oral delivery does not sufficiently betray their imperfectness. But as he, in whom the flame of the better part of our nature burns, can never be content to dream away his life without leaving some memorial of those faculties with which he has been endowed, and as the mind can only acquire facility and strength by incessant exercise, he becomes discontented and miserable while he omits the requisite labour.

Could the Author have attained the delicate and serenely rich beauties of Addison, or the overflowing strength and philosophical perspicuity of Johnson, he would not now have to look back with regret and anxiety on the inefficacy of his own endeavours. But while it is better to have reached even mediocrity

than to have done nothing, he may on a few themes, which have for years been revolving in his mind, still flatter himself with the hope of exciting the sympathy of readers of cultivated taste.

In the retirement of a studious life, in the bosom of fields and woods, he is often so filled with the realities of natural beauty, as to rest contented with passive admiration. The repose of delight would only be disturbed by the attempt at description; and the colourings of fancy would be more than superfluous. In the tumult of present joys our ideas are often too confused to be analyzed. It is from a certain distance that they are best reflected by the mind. It is then that the prominent features remain, while all that tended only to dazzle, has faded away.

Such perhaps may be amongst the reasons why he has been able to transfuse into these Essays so little of the spirit or the tints of the enchanting scenery which surrounds him.

But to waste more words in apology is vain. The attempt to conciliate the public, or even himself, to these Essays, if the Essays themselves do not produce that conciliation, is without hope, and would, even were it not hopeless, be without final use. They are now at the mercy of the world, and cannot be recalled. They stand before the impartial reader with all their imperfections; and from them will the Author's humble capacity for Essay-writing be judged, in spite of all he can say. Some will wonder at his rashness; some sneer at his stupidity; and many, who never tried themselves what it is to proceed in so perilous a task, will be surprised at the utter failure of his attempts.

The Author, morbidly alive as his first feelings are to disappointment or neglect, has learned to endure with tolerable fortitude, the consequences of committing himself to the public view; and if he cannot always sufficiently moderate his emotions at insult or neglect, nor suddenly recover from the blight of ungenerous discouragement, he has taught his mind to subside gradually into a calmness which can abide the results of his adventrous love of fame. Some friends he has the satisfaction of knowing that he has secured by these Essays; and of some noble minds he has had the good fortune to acquire the praise, whose approbation replaces him in humour with himself, and makes him amends for many mortifications.

To Mr. Lofft THE RUMINATOR is indebted for some pieces of valuable poetry. One other friend only has he to thank for aid in these Essays. To the nephew and biographer of a lady of celebrated learning and genius lately deceased he is obliged for several papers composed at his desire, which, if not the most numerous, are the most valuable of the series.

For the fate of those which remain, the writer cannot suppress his solicitude; for from them it will probably hereafter be determined, whether he has justly aspired to some qualities of the mind, of which the deficiency will hereafter cloud the recollection of him that he is so anxious should survive the grave.*

May 21, 1809.

* N.B. The Ruminator was reprinted separately in 1813 in small 8vo.; and in *that* Edition has several additional Essays.

MISCELLANEOUS ARTICLES,

CONSISTING PRINCIPALLY OF ORIGINAL PAPERS.

ART. DCCLXXIV. BIBLIOTHECÆ.*

In entering upon the subject of scarce and curious books in English literature, I feel considerable diffidence. Neither my inclinations nor my opportunities have enabled me to pay that attention to it, which has rendered so very perfect the skill of men, whose industry has embraced the means afforded by a long residence in the metropolis, or near public libraries. But almost from my childhood my mind has been awake to a moderate and regulated research in this field of enquiry: it is true that I could neither forsake for it the regions of fancy, nor much restrain my insatiable thirst for the more elegant, if not more solid, entertainments of modern literature. The black-letter mania never took exclusive possession of my head; and therefore I have often felt myself a mere novice in these acquirements among many, whose extensive knowledge of title-pages, editions, and dates, excited not only my wonder, but, may I add, my disgust! Of such I not only despair of increasing the knowledge, but even of

* This stood in the first volume of the first edition, and ought perhaps still to have stood there, as introductory.

avoiding the contempt. There are others, not infected with this excess of antiquarian curiosity, wh may be gratified with less recondite information regarding the literature of our ancestors; who may be glad to know what has been already written on subjects, on which every day is producing new publications, and find it a pleasing and useful employment to compare the past with the present; and to learn to what authors they can effectually apply for such future enquiries as may occur to them. The mere black-letter collector, who seldom looks at any but the first and last pages of his book, and cares nothing for the intrinsic merits of its contents, but would value the most despicable nonsense above the noblest effort of genius, in proportion as it was rare or unique, is a being, to whose skill I would not, if I could, contribute; and whose praises I have no desire to obtain.

I trust I shall not be accused of wanting a due share of veneration for what is ancient; something perhaps even beyond its real worth I am sufficiently inclined to discover in that which bears the imposing stamp of time: but it is imposible to surrender all taste and feeling and discrimination to the ridiculous judgments and conceited arrogance of trifling and selfish collectors. If therefore the old books I may endeavour to bring back into notice, shall seem to them unworthy of attention, because copies of those books may not be difficult to be obtained, I warn them again that such a test of value I utterly disclaim. I wish to aid the researches, and mingle in the discussions of more rational enquirers; I would tear back the veil of oblivion from unjustly neglected

authors, and restore and revive the faded laurel to the brows of unfortunate and forgotten poets!

The late ingenious DR. FARMER, and still more ingenious GEORGE STEEVENS, though both, were I think, infected with this mania a little beyond what a severe judgment and exact taste can approve, yet both made good use of the copious libraries they formed, as is evinced by the sagacious Essay on the Learning of Shakspeare, and the acute illustrations of that incomparable dramatist. The mere sale catalogues of their books furnish much valuable information. To extend therefore the recollection of these catalogues, I shall insert their titles here, accompanied by some remarks.

Bibliotheca Farmeriana. A Catalogue of the curious, valuable, and extensive Library, in print and manuscript, of the late Rev. Richard Farmer, D. D. Canon Residentiary of St. Paul's, Master of Emanuel College, and Fellow of the Royal and Antiquary Societies, deceased: comprehending many rare editions of the Greek and Roman Classics, and of the most eminent philologers; a fine Collection of English History, Antiquities, and Topography, including all the old Chronicles; the most rare and copious assemblage of old English poetry, that, perhaps, was ever exhibited at one view; together with a great variety of old plays, and early printed books, English and Foreign, in the Black Letter, many of which are extremely scarce." &c. &c.

The sale to commence Monday, May 7, 1798, and continue 35 days.

This catalogue extends to 379 pages, and the articles of books amount to 8155. It seems that Dr. Farmer once proposed himself to have had a catalogue taken of his library, to which he intended to have prefixed the following Advertisement.

"This collection of books is by no means to be considered as an essay towards a perfect library; the circumstances and the situation of the collector made such an attempt both unnecessary and impracticable. Here are few publications of great price, which were already to be found in the excellent library of Emanuel College: but it is believed, that not many private collections contain a greater number of really curious and scarce books; and perhaps no one is so rich in the ancient philological English literature. R. Farmer."

The other Catalogue is entitled,

Bibliotheca Steevensiana. A Catalogue of the curious and valuable Library of George Steevens, Esq. Fellow of the Royal and Antiquary Societies, lately deceased: comprehending an extraordinary fine collection of books, in classical, philological, historical, old English, and general literature; many of which are extremely rare, &c. &c.

The sale to commence Tuesday, May 13, 1800, *and continue* 10 *days.*

The articles of books in this catalogue, which consists of 125 pages, only amount to 1930.

In both these libraries, I believe, the rarest articles were those of old English poetry; the former possessed the greatest number; but in the latter there were some books of uncommon curiosity. It seems

a little singular that on this subject both the Bodleian Library, and that of the British Museum, are very deficient. To the late Mr. Herbert, therefore, in his new edition of Ames's useful publication of Typographical Antiquities, these private collections were eminently serviceable. And Mr. Joseph Ritson, unilluminated by a particle of taste or fancy, and remarkable only for the unceasing drudgery with which he dedicated his life to one of the humblest departments of literary antiquities, and for the bitter insolence and foul abuse with which he communicated his dull acquisitions to the public, was equally indebted to the same sources, particularly in his "Bibliographia Poetica," 1802. Whoever is acquainted with that strange, but not totally useless, book, will wonder how it was possible for a man, with such a fund of materials before him, to compile a work so utterly lifeless and stupid, so uncheered by one single ray of light, or one solitary flower admitted even by chance from the numerous and varied gardens of poetry, over which he had been travelling! But, poor unhappy spirit, thou art gone! Perhaps thy restless temper was disease: and mayst thou find peace in the grave!*

Above all men the late Laureat, whom this pitiable critic has loaded with the coarsest epithets, has taught us what use to make of dark and forgotten materials. And, among many other instances of the living, Mr. George Ellis,† in his "Specimens of our early Poetry," and Mr. Walter Scott, in his

* He died in August or September 1803. See a very affecting account of his death in the British Critic at that period.

† This amiable and accomplished critic died in the spring of 1815.

interesting "Minstrelsy of the Scottish Borders," have exhibited the happy result of the most minute, and patient investigations, of this kind, with the most splendid talents. Nor ought I to omit, (if delicacy did not make me hesitate) my friend Mr. Park, who, with a very accurate and extensive skill in black letter literature, combines a most elegant taste, and rich and cultivated imagination.

Art. DCCLXXV. TOPOGRAPHY.

The dull manner in which this department of literature has been generally conducted, without one faint ray of fancy to illuminate the dreary paths of antiquity, has brought it into contempt with men of elegant learning and feeling hearts. It cannot be denied, that to extract from court-rolls, deeds of feoffment, and parish registers, to copy tombstones, and epitomize wills, to hunt indexes for inquisitions, and transcribe meagre pedigrees of obscure names, is a very humble exercise of some of the lowest qualifications of an attorney's clerk:—But to elucidate local history in the manner in which it ought to be elucidated, is to rescue the worthy from oblivion, to delineate the changes of manners, and the progress of arts, and call back to the fancy the pomp and splendour of ages that are gone; to restore the ruinated castle; to repeople the deserted mansion, and bid for a moment the grave render back its inhabitants to the fond eye of regret. To execute works of this kind would require powers very different from those of most of our Topographers, and not very compatible with that industry which the

necessary researches would call for. Few men have united, with the powers of fancy and taste, such laborious investigation, as the late Mr. Thomas Warton. His specimen of a History of Oxfordshire, in his account of the parish of Kiddington, is a model for such compilations, and shews how instructive and entertaining he could have made the account of a more favoured spot.

But the principal purpose of my entering at present on this subject is to introduce the fragment of a Poem, in which it is attempted to describe the feelings of a tender heart on re-visiting the scenes of former happiness. It seems to me that such effusions come strictly within the plan of the most valuable part of topographical memoirs; and would add life, interest, and moral charms to what is now considered as the most useless and unattractive branch of modern reading.

A POETICAL FRAGMENT

On a deserted mansion, the supposed place of nativity of the person in whose character it is written.

Ah! poor deserted solitary dome!
Thou wast, tho' now so dreary, once my home!
From these lov'd windows was I wont to mark
The swain at noontide cross the chearful park;
And oft as pensive Eve began to draw
O'er the sweet scene her shadowy veil, I saw
The weary woodman thro' the twilight pace,
His hearth's domestic circle to embrace!
Unnotic'd now his mournful path he treads;
No casual ray thy gloomy window sheds;

From thy chill halls no clouds of smoke appear:
No sound of human habitant is here.
The angry Spirits of the wind alone
Shriek thro' thy rooms and 'mid thy turrets groan;
While the poor villager, who wont to stay,
And near this spot to linger on his way,
Now passes fearful on, nor looks around;
Starts at each bough, and quakes at every sound.
With trembling footsteps I approach thy gates;
The massy door upon the hinges grates;
Hark! as it opens, what an hollow groan
'Cross the dark hall, and down the aisles, is thrown!
Still as each lov'd apartment I explore,
The ghosts glide by of joys that are no more;
Cold tremors seize my frame, and to my heart
Despair's chill shafts in clouds of sorrow dart!
O where are all the crew, whose social powers
Speeded beneath these roofs my youthful hours?
Some near yon fane, beneath the turfy mound,
From worldly cares have early quiet found:
Wide o'er the globe dispers'd the rest are seen;
Vast lands extend, deep oceans roll between:
Some in the burning suns of Asia toil
To win deceitful Fortune's gaudy smile;
Some in the battle's perils spend their breath,
And grasp at Honour in the arms of Death;
On Egypt's sandy plains, or 'mid the crew
Of mad rebellion still their course pursue:
Some to the gentler arts of peace apply,
Or with the gown's or senate's labours vie;
Watch with the moon thro' midnight's tranquil hour,
Learning's exhaustless volumes to explore;
Or paint bright Fancy's shadowy shapes, which throng
Before the raptur'd sight, in living song,

While fondly as the fairy structure grows
With hope of endless fame the bosom glows.
But where are they, whose softer forms display'd
Beauty in all the charms of youth array'd?
Which first the breast with love's emotion fill'd,
And with new joys the dove-winged moments thrill'd?
Here glimmered first, amid a thousand wiles,
Thro' the deep blush, Affection's purple smiles;
In murmurs died the voices melting tone,
And the heart throbb'd with softness yet unknown.
On yonder lawn, in yonder tangled shade,
Till twilight stole upon our joys we played;
Danc'd on the green, or with affected race
Pursued thro' winding walks the wanton chase;
Or sat on banks of flowers, and told some tale
Where hapless lovers o'er their fate bewail;
Or bad soft Echo from her mossy seat
The floating music of their songs repeat!
Ye dear companions of my boyish days,
Fair idols of my vows and of my lays,
O whither are ye gone? what varied fate
Has heaven decreed your riper years to wait?
The bloom of youth no longer paints your cheeks;
In your soft eyes gay hope no longer speaks;
Bright as the hyacinthine rays of Morn,
Your cheeks no more the auburn locks adorn.
Some in the distant shades of privacy
With watchful looks a mother's care supply;
Some in the realms of fashion feed their pride,
Wafted on dissipation's vapoury tide:
And some alas! ere yet the silver hair
And tottering footsteps warn'd them to prepare,
Of life's vain course have clos'd the fickle race,
And sudden sunk in chilling death's embrace.

But happy they, who, in the quiet grave,
The world's relentless storms no more must brave;
For here no more had childhood's pure delights
Bless'd their sweet days, and hover'd o'er their nights.
Here cruel Fate had early clos'd the door,
That opens to the voice of joy no more;
And still, where'er the wretched exiles stray'd,
Black Care had gloom'd their steps, and Fraud betray'd;
And Envy scowl'd upon their fairest deeds,
And Calumny, that cursed fiend who feeds
With most delight on those who most aspire
To win pure fame by virtue's holiest fire,
Had damp'd the ardor of the generous breast,
And glory's kindling visions had suppress.—
The grave contains them now: beneath a heap
Of mouldering turf in silent rest they sleep,
Till the dread day when sounds the tramp of fate,
And all with trembling hope their doom must wait.
O ye deep shadowy walks; ye forest-dells,
Where Solitude with inmost mystery dwells!
Again I hail you! From the leaf-strown earth
Visions of happy infancy spring forth
At every step I tread; and to my heart
A momentary ray of joy impart:
But ah! how soon, with present ills combin'd,
The dreadful contrast strikes the wounded mind!
The clock that sent its undulating sounds
With deep-ton'd stroke thro' all your distant bounds
From yonder lofty tower, is silent now;
Silent the horn, that on yon airy brow,
Blew its shrill notes thro' all your calm retreats,
And rous'd the Nymphs and Dryads from their seats;

And call'd sweet Echo, bidding her prolong
Thro' hill and grove and vale the chearful song:
Still is the breath of him who wak'd the horn;
The master's tongue, who did these scenes adorn,
Is silent in the dust; no more his voice
Bids the deep coverts of your woods rejoice;
No more the rustic's grateful breasts he chears,
Nor wipes from Poverty her bitter tears;
No more around him draws the eager cry
Of prattling childhood to attract his eye,
From whence the rays of love and kindness fly;
No more his lips pronounce the awful tone
Of wisdom, and instruct the bad to moan
Their guilty course; and virtue still to bear
The load of life with fortitude and prayer.
Beneath the pavement of yon humble fane
Low in the earth his mouldering bones remain.
Memory shall o'er the spot her vigils keep,
And Friendship and Affection long shall weep;
And he, who now attempts in simple lays,
His honour'd fame so weakly to emblaze,
Shall never cease, till life its current stays,
To love, to speak, to view with idol eyes,
His merits kindling as they upward rise!

O what a sudden gloom invests the heaven!
Black clouds across the fair expanse are driven:
No sound is heard; save where a casual breeze
Shakes off the rustling leaves from faded trees.
Hark! what a gust was that! a fearful moan
Along the dark'ning forest seems to groan.
Ye holy spirits of my buried sires,
Still e'en in death survive your wonted fires?
Still hovering round your once lov'd earthly walks,
Is it your voice that in the breezes talks?

To him who sighs o'er all your glories gone,
Who weeps your scatter'd grove, your ruin'd lawn;
Who views with bursting heart your falling towers,
And fills with loud lament your ravag'd bowers;
To him, perchance your guardian cares extend;
O'er him perchance with favouring voice ye bend!
O hear me, sainted beings of the air,
One sign, ye smile upon my efforts, spare!
That gust again! louder it seemed to move,
Rushing across the centre of the grove!
Sure 'tis the signal that ye come at last
To calm my breast, and soothe my sorrows past:
For long Misfortune's baleful hand has spread
Her iron tortures round my luckless head.

Cætera desunt.

ART. DCCLXXVI. *Original Letter of Mrs. Montagu to Mrs. Wm. Robinson, of Denton.*

DEAR MADAM, *Chaillot, Sept.* 19, 1776.

"I HAD the pleasure of receiving your obliging letter from the hands of a very lively polite French lady. Who she is I cannot learn, for at Paris every body does not know every body as at London. Miss G—— and I were going to step into the coach with an intention to pass one night at Paris; but I changed my scheme, and insisted on Madame C—— staying the evening: she has travelled a great deal, and is very amusing. I have called twice at her door, but did not find her at home; she wrote me a very obliging note to express her regret. I do not know whether I mentioned to you that I was disgusted

with the noise and dirtiness of an hotel garni. I had the best apartments in the best hotel at Paris. In my drawing-room I had a fine lustre, noble looking-glasses, velvet chairs; and in my bed-chamber a rich bed with a superb canopy. Poets and philosophers have told us that cares and solicitudes lurk under rich canopies, but they never told us that at Paris les punaises lie concealed there; small evils it may be said, but I assure you as incompatible with sound sleep as the most formidable terrors or the wildest dreams of ambition. I did not rest well at night, and in the day for the few hours I was chez moi I did not enjoy that kind of comfort one feels at home; so I was determined to have an habitation quite to myself. I got a pretty small house at Chaillot with the most delightful prospect; it was unfurnished, so I hired furniture. I had not brought house-linen, but I found a Flemish linen-draper; then I composed my establishment of servants; I have of English, French, Italians, Germans, and Savoyards; they cannot combine against me, for they hardly understand one another; but they all understand me, and we are as quiet and orderly as possible. I was not ten days from the time I hired my house before I inhabited it. I made use of it at first as an house to sleep in at night, and to visit from in the day, but I soon found out that it was an house in which one might dine and ask others to dinner. I got an excellent cook who had lived with the Prince of Wirtemberg, and have since had duchesses, and fine ladies, and learned academicians, to dine with me; and I live a la mode de Paris, as much as if I were a native. I have usually only a

pair of horses; but when I go to visit, or any where at a distance, the man of whom I hire them furnishes me with six and a postillion, so that I have all manner of accommodations.

"I placed the boys* and Mr. B—— at a French school, half a quarter of a mile from hence, where they have an opportunity of talking French all day as well as learning it by rule. If they had been here, the boys must have been continually with servants, for my nephew being too old for a plaything, and not yet a man, it would have been impossible to have introduced him into company. A little child is the prettiest of animals, but of all companions, to be sure a human being before it is at years of rational discourse is the worst, except to those who have a parental affection for them; and though I think it no shame to own I have a wonderful delight in my nephew, whom I have, in a manner, brought up, I should be very absurd to expect other people should take more pleasure in my nephew than I do in their nephews; nor do I think the conversation of mixed society very good for children. Things are often thrown out in a careless imperfect manner, so as to be very dangerous to young minds; as indigested food fills the body, indigested opinions do the mind, with crudities and flatulencies; and perhaps there is not any place where a young person could be in more danger of being hurt by society than at Paris. Till I had conversed so intimately with the French I did not imagine they were so different from us in their opinions, sentiments, manners and modes of life as

* The present Matthew Montagu, Esq. and the Rev. Montagu Pennington.

I find them. In every thing they seem to think perfection and excellence to be that which is at the greatest distance from simplicity. I verily believe that if they had the ambrosia of the gods served at their table they would perfume it, and they would make a ragout sauce to nectar; we know very well they would put rouge on the cheek of Hebe. If an orator here delivers a very highly adorned period he is clapt; at the academy where some verses were read, which were a translation of Homer, the more the translator deviated from the simplicity of Homer, the more loud the applause; at their tragedies an extravagant verse of the poets and an outrageous action of the actor is clapped. The Corinthian architecture is too plain, and they add ornaments of fancy. The fine Grecian forms of vases and tripods they say are triste, and therefore they adorn them. It would be very dangerous to inspire young persons with this contempt of simplicity before experience taught choice or discretion. The business of the toilette is here brought to an art and a science. Whatever is supposed to add to the charm of society and conversation is cultivated with the utmost attention. That mode of life is thought most eligible that does not leave one moment vacant from amusement. That style of writing or conversation the best that is always the most brilliant. This kind of high colouring gives a splendour to every thing which is pleasing to a stranger who considers every object that presents itself as a sight and as a spectacle, but I think would grow painful if perpetual. I do not mean to say, that there are not some persons and some authors who, in their

conversation and writings, have a noble simplicity, but in general there is too little of it. This taste of decoration makes every thing pretty, but leaves nothing great. I like my present way of life so well I should be glad to stay here two months longer, but to avoid the dangers of a winter sea and land journey I shall return, as I intended, the first week in October.

I had a very agreeable French lady to dine with me to-day, and am to dine with her at Versailles on Sunday. As she is a woman of the bed-chamber to the Queen, she was obliged (being now in waiting) to ask leave to come to me; the queen, with her leave, said something very gracious concerning the character of your humble servant. The French say so many civil things from the highest of them to the lowest, I am glad I did not come to Paris when I was young enough to have my head turned.

We are going to sup with a most charming Marquise de Dufants, who, being blind and upwards of four-score, is polite and gay, and I suppose we shall stay till after midnight with her. I hope to contrive to get a peep at you in my journey through Kent.

Miss G——— desires her best compliments. I have sent you a copy of Voltaire's saucy letter on a translator of Shakspeare's appearing at Paris; he was very wrath. Mr. Le Tourneur, whom he abuses, is a very modest ingenious man. Voltaire is vexed that the French will see how he has often stolen from Shakspeare. I could have sent you some very pretty verses that were made on your humble servant and Miss G———; but I think sa-

tire is always more poignant than praise, and the verses on us were high panegyric.

I am, Dear Madam,

Your most affectionate Sister and Friend,

and faithful humble Servant,

E. MONTAGU.

Two Original Letters of Mrs. Montagu, containing accounts of two successive Tours in Scotland, in 1766 *and* 1770.

The following letters of Mrs. Montagu, may not improperly find a place here; as they will serve to diversify those pages, of which it may be prudent sometimes to relieve the heaviness of the antiquarian matter. Short extracts from these letters have been already printed in the Gentleman's Magazine.

*Mrs. Montagu to Mrs. William Robinson.**

Denton,† Dec. 4, 1766.

**** "You will see, by the date of my letter, I am still in the northern regions; but I hope in a fortnight to return to London. We have had a mild

* The wife of the Rev. William Robinson, third surviving brother of Mrs. Montagu, and then resident at Denton Court, near Canterbury. He was educated at Westminster, and at St. John's College, Cambridge, where he formed an intimacy with many men of genius and literature; particularly Gray, the poet, who paid more than one visit to him at Denton. He was also Rector of Burfield, Berks, where he died Dec. 1803, aged about 75.

† In Northumberland.

season; and this house is remarkably warm; so that I have not suffered from cold. Business has taken up much of my time; and, as we had farms to let against next May day, and I was willing to see the new colliery begin to work, before I left the country, I had the prudence to get the better of my taste for society.

"I spent a month in Scotland this summer, and made a further progress than Mr. Gray did. An old friend of Mr. Montagu's and mine, Dr. Gregory, came to us here, and brought his daughter the end of July; and summoned me to keep a promise, I had made him, of letting him be my knight-errant, and escort me round Scotland.

"The first of August we set forward. I called on the Duke and Duchess of Northumberland at Alnwick Castle in my way: it is the most noble gothic building imaginable; its antique form is preserved on the outside; within, the apartments are also gothic in their structure and ornaments; but convenient and noble; so that modern elegance arranges and conducts antique strength; and grandeur leaves its sublimity of character, but softens what was rude and unpolished.

"My next day's journey carried me to Edinburgh, where I stayed ten days. I passed my time there very agreeably; receiving every polite attention from all the people of distinction in the town. I never saw any thing equal to the hospitality of the Scotch. Every one seemed to make it their business to attend me to all the fine places in the neighbourhood; to invite me to dinner, to supper, &c.

"As I had declared an intention to go to Glasgow,

the Lord Provost of Glasgow insisted on my coming to his villa near the town, instead of going to a noisy inn. I stayed three days there to see the seats in the environs; and the great cathedral, and the college and academy for painting; and then I set out for Inveraray. I should first tell you, Glasgow is the most beautiful town in Great Britain. The houses, according to the Scotch fashion, are large and high, and built of freestone; the streets very broad, and built at right angles. All dirty kinds of business are carried on in separate districts; so that nothing appears but a noble and elegant simplicity.

"My road from Glasgow for Inveraray lay by the side of the famous lake called Lough-Lomon. Never did I see the sublime and beautiful so united. The lake is in some places eight miles broad; in others less; adorned with many islands, of which some rise in a conical figure, and are covered with fir-trees up to the summit. Other islands are flatter; and deer are feeding in their green meadows: in the Lontananza rise the

> Mountains, on whose barren breast
> The labouring clouds do seem to rest.

The lake is bright as crystal, and the shore consists of alabaster pebbles.

"Thus I travelled near twenty miles, till I came to the village of Luss, where I lay at an inn; there being no gentleman's house near it. The next morning I begun to ascend the Highland mountains. I got out of my chaise to climb to the top of one, to take leave of the beautiful lake. The sun had not been long up; its beams danced on the lake; and

we saw this lovely water meandring for twenty-five miles.

" Immediately after I returned to my chaise, I began to be enclosed in a deep valley, between vast mountains, down whose furrowed cheeks torrents rushed impetuously, and united in the vale below. Winter's rains had so washed away the soil from some of the steep mountains, there appeared little but the rocks, which, like the skeleton of a giant, appeared more terrible than the perfect form.

" Other mountains were covered with a dark brown moss; the shaggy goats were browzing on their sides; here and there appeared a storm-struck tree or blasted shrub, from whence no lark ever saluted the morn with joyous hymn, or Philomel soothed the dull ear of night: but from thence the eagle gave the first lessons of flight to her young, and taught them to make war on the kids.

" In the vale of Glencirow, we stopped to dine by the stream of Cona, so celebrated by Ossian. I chose to dine amid the rude magnificence of Nature, rather than in the meanest of the works of Art; so did not enter the cottage, which called itself an inn. From thence my servants brought me firesh herrings and trout; and my lord provost's wife had filled my maid's chaise with good things; so very luxuriously we feasted.

" I wished Ossian would have come to us, and told us 'a tale of other times.' However imagination and memory assisted; and we recollected many passages in the very places that inspired them. I stayed three hours, listening to the roaring stream, and hoped some ghost would come on the blast of

the mountain, and shew us where three grey stones were erected to his memory.

"After dinner we went on about fourteen miles, still in the valley, mountain rising above mountain, till we ascended to Inveraray. There at once we entered the vale, where lies the vast lake called Lough-Fine; of whose dignity I cannot give you a better notion, than by telling you the great leviathan had taken his pastime therein the night before I was there. Though it is forty miles from the sea, whales come up there often in the herring season. At Inveraray, I was lodged at a gentleman's house; invited to another's in the neighbourhood; and attended round the Duke of Argyle's Policy; (such are called the grounds dedicated to beauty and ornament). I went also to see the castle built by the late Duke. It appears small by the vast objects near it; this great lake before; a vast mountain, covered with fir and beech, behind it; so that relatively the castle is little.

"I was obliged to return back to Glasgow the same way, not having time to make the tour of the Highlands. Lord Provost had an excellent dinner, and good company ready for us. The next day I went to Lord Kames's near Stirling, where I had promised to stay a day. I passed a day very agreeably there, but could not comply with their obliging entreaties to stay a longer time; but was obliged to return to Edinburgh. Lord Kames attended me to Stirling Castle; and thence to the Iron Works at Caron: there again I was on classic ground.

"I dined at Mr. Dundas's. At night I got back to Edinburgh, where I rested myself three days; and

then on my road lay at Sir Gilbert Elliot's; and spent a day with him and Lady Elliot. They facilitated my journey by lending me relays, which the route did not always furnish: so I sent my own horses a stage forward. I crossed the Tweed again; dined and lay at the Bishop of Carlisle's at Rose Castle, and then came home, much pleased with the expedition, and grateful for the infinite civilities I had received.

"My evenings at Edinburgh passed very agreeably with Dr. Robertson, Dr. Blair, Lord Kames, and divers ingenious and agreeable persons. My friend Dr. Gregory, who was my fellow-traveller, though he is a mathematician, has a fine imagination, an elegant taste, and every quality to make an agreeable companion. He came back to Denton with me; but soon left us. I detained his two daughters; who are still with me. They are most amiable children; they will return to their papa a few days before I leave this place.

"I was told Mr. Gray was rather reserved, when he was in Scotland; though they were disposed to pay him great respect. I agree perfectly with him, that to endeavour to shine in conversation, and to lay out for admiration is very paltry; the wit of the company, next to the butt of the company, is the meanest person in it; but at the same time, when a man of celebrated talents disdains to mix in common conversation, or refuses to talk on ordinary subjects, it betrays a latent pride. There is a much higher character, than that of a wit, or a poet, or a scavant; which is that of a rational and sociable being, willing to carry on the commerce of life with all the

sweetness, and condescension, decency and virtue will permit. The great duty of conversation is to follow suit as you do at whist: if the eldest hand plays the deuce of diamonds, let not his next neighbour dash down the king of hearts, because his hand is full of honours. I do not love to see a man of wit win all the tricks in conversation; nor yet to see him sullenly pass. I speak not this of Mr. Gray in particular; but it is the common failing of men of genius, to exert a proud superiority, or maintain a prouder indolence. I shall be very glad to see Mr. Gray, whenever he will please to do me the favour. I think he is the first poet of the age; but if he comes to my fire-side, I will teach him not only to speak prose, but to talk nonsense, if occasion be. I would not have a poet always sit on the proud summit of the Forked Hill. I have a great respect for Mr. Gray, as well as a high admiration.

"I am much grieved at the bad news from Canterbury. The Dean* is a great loss to his family.

"Your affectionate sister,

"E. MONTAGU."

LETTER II.

The same to the same.

Hill Street, Nov. 19, 1770.

"Your kind letter met me in Hill Street on Thursday: it welcomed me to London in a very agreeable manner. I should however have felt a painful consciousness, how little I deserved such a

* Dean Friend, who married Primate Robinson's sister.

favour, if my long omission of correspondence had not been owing to want of health. I felt ill on my journey to Denton; or rather indeed began the journey indisposed; and only aggravated my complaints by travelling.

"Sickness and bad weather deprived me of the pleasure of seeing the beauties of Derbyshire. However I got a sight of the stately palace of Lord Scarsdale; where the arts of ancient Greece, and the delicate pomp of modern ages, unite to make a most magnificent habitation. It is the best worth seeing of any house I suppose, in England; but I know not how it is, that one receives but moderate pleasure in the works of art. There is a littleness in every work of man. The operations of Nature are vast and noble; and I found much greater pleasure in the contemplation of Lord Bredalbane's mountains, rocks, and lakes, than in all the efforts of human art at Lord Scarsdale's.

"I continued, after my arrival at Denton, in a very poor state of health, which suited ill with continual business, and made me unable to write letters in the hours of recess and quiet. Dr. Gregory came from Edinburgh to make me a visit, and persuaded me to go back with him. The scheme promised much pleasure; and I flattered myself, might be conducive to health; as the doctor, of whose medical skill I have the highest opinion, would have time to observe and consider my various complaints. I was glad also to have an opportunity of amusing my friend Mrs. Chapone, whom I carried with me into the north.

"We had a pleasant journey to Edinburgh, where

we were most agreeably entertained in Dr. Gregory's house; all the literati, and the polite company at Edinburgh, paying me all kinds of attentions: and, by the doctor's regimen, my health greatly improved, so that I was prevailed upon to indulge my love of prospects by another trip to the Highlands; my good friend and physician still attending me.

"The first day's journey was to Lord Barjarg's,* brother to Mr. Charles Erskine, who was the intimate companion and friendly competitor of my poor brother Tom.† Each of them was qualified for the highest honours of his profession, which they would certainly have attained, had it pleased God to have granted longer life.

"Lord Barjarg had received great civilities at Horton,‡ when he was pursuing his law studies in

* James Erskine, a judge of the Supreme Civil Court of Scotland, first by the title of Lord Barjarg, which he afterwards changed for that of Lord Alva. His father, Charles, also a judge by the title of Lord Tinwald, was third son of Sir Charles, fourth son of John, 7th Earl of Mar. From Lord Tinwald's elder brother is descended James, now Earl of Rosslyn. Lord Alva was born 1722, and died 13 May, 1796, the oldest judge in Britain. Charles was his elder brother; he was born 21 Oct. 1716, was M. P. and Barrister at Law; and dying in his father's life-time, was buried in the chapel of Lincoln's Inn.

† Thomas Robinson, 2d brother of Mrs. Montagu, was a young barrister, of eminent and rising talents; he was author of a most useful Treatise, entitled "The Common Law of Kent; or the Customs of Gavelkind, with an Appendix concerning Borough-English. By Thomas Robinson of Lincoln's Inn, Esq." 8vo. which having become scarce was reprinted in 1788. He died 29 Dec. 1747.

‡ Horton, near Hythe, in Kent, the seat of the Robinsons.

England; so he came to visit me as soon as I got to Edinburgh; and in the most friendly manner pressed my passing some days at his house in Perthshire. I got there by an easy day's journey, after having also walked a long time about the castle of Stirling, which commands a very beautiful prospect.

"Lord Barjarg's place is very fine; and in a very singular style. His house looks to the south over a very rich valley, rendered more fertile, as well as more beautiful by the meandrings of the river Forth. Behind his house rise great hills covered with wood; and over them stupendous rocks. The goats look down with an air of philosophic pride, and gravity, on folks in the valley. One, in particular seemed to me capable of addressing the famous beast of Gervaudun, if he had been there, with as much disdain as Diogenes did the great conqueror of the east.

"Here I passed two days, and then his lordship and my doctor attended me to my old friend Lord Kinnoul's.* You may imagine my visit there gave me a great deal of pleasure, besides what arose from seeing a fine place. I was delighted to find an old friend enjoying the heart-felt happiness, which attends a life of virtue. Lord Kinnoul is continually employed in encouraging agriculture and manufactures; protecting the weak from injury, assisting the distressed, and animating the young people to whatever, in their various stations, is most fit and pro-

* Uncle to the late Earl. He died 1787, aged 77.

per. He appears more happy in this situation, than when he was whirled about in the vortex of the Duke of Newcastle.

"The situation of a Scottish nobleman of fortune is enough to fill the ambition of a reasonable man; for they have power to do a great deal of good.

"From Dupplin we went to Lord Bredalbane's at Taymouth. Here unite the sublime and beautiful. The house is situated in a valley, where the verdure is the finest imaginable; and noble beeches adorn it; and beautiful cascades fall down the midst of it. Through this valley you are led to a vast lake: on one side the lake there is a fine country; on the other mountains lift their heads, and hide them in the clouds. In some places ranges of rocks look like vast fortified citadels. I passed two days in this fine place, where I was entertained with the greatest politeness, and kindest attentions; Lord Bredalbane seeming to take the greatest pleasure in making every thing easy, agreeable, and convenient.

"My next excursion was to Lord Kames's; and then I returned to Edinburgh. With Lord Kames and his lady I have had a correspondence, ever since I was first in Scotland; so I was there received with most cordial friendship. I must do the justice to the Scottish nation to say, they are the most politely hospitable of any people in the world. I had innumerable invitations, of which I could not avail myself, having made as long a holiday from my business in Northumberland, as I could afford.

"I am very glad to find by letters received from my

brother Robinson,* that he thinks himself better for the waters of Aix.

"The newspapers will inform you of the death of Mr. George Grenville. I think he is a great loss to the public; and though in these days of ribaldry and abuse, he was often much calumniated, I believe time will vindicate his character as a public man. As a private one, he was quite unblemished. I regret the loss to myself: I was always pleased and informed by his conversation. He had read a vast deal; and had an amazing memory. He had been versed in business from his youth; so that he had a very rich fund of conversation; and he was good-natured and very friendly.

"The King's speech has a warlike tone; but still we flatter ourselves that the French King's aversion to war may prevent our being again engaged in one. It is reported that Mr. De Grey* is to be Lord Keeper. Lord Chatham was to have spoken in the House of Lords to day, if poor Mr. Grenville's death, which happened at seven this morning, had not hindered his appearing in public. I do not find that any change of ministry is expected.

"My father† and brother are very well. My sister has got the head-ach to day. She was so good as to come to me, and will stay till Mr. Montagu ar-

* Matthew Robinson of Horton, Esq. afterwards 2d Lord Rokeby, who died 22 Nov. 1800, æt. 88.

† Afterwards Lord Walsingham.

‡ Matthew Robinson of West-Layton, in Yorkshire, Esq. who died 1778, aged 84. He married the heiress of the Morris's of Horton, whose mother remarried Dr. Conyers Middleton.

rives in town. He did not leave Denton, till almost a week after I came away; and he was stopped at Durham by waters being out; but I had the pleasure of hearing yesterday that he got safe to Darlington, where he was to pass a few days with a famous mathematician.* But I expect him in town the end of this week.

"My nephew Morris† has got great credit at Eton already. My sister‡ has in general her health extremely well. I have got much better than I was in the summer. My doctors order me to forbear writing; but this letter does not shew my obedience to them. I wish I could enliven it with more news.

"The celebrated Coterie will go on in spite of all remonstrances; and there is to be an assembly thrice a week for the subscribers to the opera into the subscription; so little impression do rumours of wars, and apprehensions of the plague, make on the fine world."

I cannot resist adding the following extract from another Letter, 1778.

*** "I am sure you will be desirous to hear a true account of Lord Chatham's accident in the House of Lords; and of his present condition of health. The newspapers are in but little credit in general; but their account of that affair has been very exact. His Lordship had been long confined

* This was William Emerson, whose mathematical works are well known; and whose eccentricities were very prominent. He was born 1701, and died 26 May, 1782. See *Biogr. Dict.* V. 341.

† Now Lord Rokeby. ‡ Mrs. Scott.

by a fit of the gout; so was debilitated by illness, and want of exercise. The house was crowded by numbers, who went to hear him on so critical a state of affairs. The thunder of his eloquence was abated; and the lightning of his eye was dimmed to a certain degree, when he rose to speak; but the glory of his former administration threw a mellow lustre around him; and his experience of public affairs gave the force of an oracle to what he said; and a reverential silence reigned through the senate. He spoke in answer to the Duke of Richmond: the Duke of Richmond replied. Then his Lordship rose up to speak again. The Genius and spirit of Britain seemed to heave in his bosom: and he sunk down speechless! He continued half an hour in a fit. His eldest and second sons, and Lord Mahon, were in great agony, waiting the doubtful event. At last he happily recovered; and though he is very weak, still I am assured by his family, that he looks better than he did before this accident."*

LETTER III.

Mrs. Montagu to Mrs. Robinson, &c. at Naples.

Hill Street, 26, Feb. 1762.

**** "I long most impatiently to hear of your safe recovery, and the health of the little one, who is to repay you for all the trouble his first stage of life will give you. Patience and good humour, which you possess in a high degree, greatly mitigate all sufferings. Those, who have most self-love, by a

* It scarce need be added that he died May 11.

strange blindness to their interest, have usually the least of that noble panacea, patience; which only can heal all the wounds, the rubs, and the scratches one receives in this rough world. I believe you found it an excellent fellow-traveller through Spain: it makes a smooth road, where the pick-axe has never levelled the inequalities, and softens the mattress and pillow. I am under some anxiety, lest our rupture with Spain should occasion you any inconvenience.

"I am so poor a politician, that if I durst write on the subject, I should be able to give you but a lame account of the situation of affairs here. In the House of Commons, every boy who can articulate, is a speaker, to the great dispatch of business, and solidity of councils. They sit late every night, as every young gentleman, who has a handsome person, a fine coat, a well-shaped leg, or a clear voice, is to exhibit these advantages.

"To this kind of beau-oratory, and tea-table talk, the ladies, as is reasonable, resorted very constantly. At first they attended in such numbers as to fill the body of the house, on great political questions. Having all their lives been aiming at conquests, committing murders, and enslaving mankind, they were for most violent and bloody measures: desirous of a war with Spain and France, fond of battles on the Continent, and delighted with the prospect of victories in the East and West Indies. They wished to see the chariot of their favourite minister drawn, like that of the great Sesostris, by six captive kings!

"Much glory might have accrued to Great Bri-

tain from this martial spirit in the ladies: but, whether by private contrivance, or that of a party who are inclined to pacific measures, I do not know, a ghost started up in a dirty obscure alley in the city, and diverted the attention of the female politicians, from the glory of their country, to an inquiry, why Miss Fanny ——— who died of the small pox two years ago, and suffered herself to be buried, does now appear in the shape of the sound of a hammer, and rap and scratch at the head of Miss Parsons's bed, the daughter of a parish clerk?

"As I suppose you read the newspapers, you will see mention of the Ghost; but without you was here upon the spot, you could never conceive that the most bungling performance of the silliest imposture could take up the attention, and conversation, of all the fine world. And as the ways of the beau-monde are always in contradiction to the gospel, they are determined to shew, that, though they do not believe in Moses and the prophets, they would believe if one were to come from the dead, though it was only to play tricks like a rat behind a wainscot! You must not indeed regret being absent, while this farce is going on. There will be an Elizabeth Canning, or a Man in a Bottle, or some other folly, for the amusement of this frivolous generation, at all times!

"But you have some reason to regret having missed the coronation, perhaps the finest spectacle in the world. As all old customs are kept up in this ceremony, there is a mixture of chivalry and popery, and many circumstances that took their rise in the barbarism of former times; and which appear now very uncouth; but, upon the whole, it is very august and magnificent.

"The fine person of our young Sovereign was a great addition to the spectacle: but the Peers and Peeresses made the chief parade on the occasion. Almost all the nobility, whom age and infirmities did not incapacitate, walked in the procession. The jewels, that were worn on the occasion, would have made you imagine, that the diamond mines were in the King of Great Britain's dominions. On the King's wedding, there appeared the greatest parade of fine cloaths I ever saw.

"This winter has been very gay as to amusements. Never did we see less light from the sun, or a greater blaze of wax candles! The presence of the Duke of Mecklenburgh, the Queen's youngest brother, has given occasion to many balls and assemblies. The Queen has not an evening drawing-room: they have sometimes balls at St. James's; but in general their Majesties spend their time in private, or at Leicester-house, where the Princess Dowager hardly keeps up the air of a court. The D. of Y—— makes himself amends for want of princely pastimes by very familiarly frequenting all the public diversions; and has shared in the amusements of the ghost at Cock Lane. As all are equal in the grave, a ghost may be company for the Grand Seignior, without disparagement to human grandeur! Our young Queen has a polite address; and even her civilities in the circle seem to flow from good humour. She is cheerful, easy, and artless in her manners, which greatly charms the King, who, by his situation, is surrounded by solemnity, ceremony, &c.

"I had the pleasure of hearing from Mr. Pitt

that you and my brother were in good health. You had a great loss in Mr. Pitt's* leaving Naples: he shines first amongst his young countrymen, even here. He is to dine here to day with Mrs. Lyttelton, and the Bishop of Carlisle,† a new bishop, but who has long had every qualification to grace the Reverend Bench!

"You have lately returned us from Italy a very extraordinary personage, Lady Mary Wortley. When Nature is at the trouble of making a very singular person, Time does right in respecting it. Medals are preserved, when common coin is worn out; and as great geniuses are rather matters of curiosity than use, this lady seems to be reserved for a wonder to more than one generation. She does not look older than when she went abroad; has more than the vivacity of fifteen; and a memory, which perhaps is unique. Several people visited her out of curiosity, which she did not like. I visit her, because her husband and mine were cousin-germans;‡ and though she has not any foolish partiality for her husband, and his relations, I was very graciously received, and, you may imagine, entertained, by one, who neither thinks, speaks, acts, or dresses, like any body else. Her domestic is made

* I presume, the first Lord Camelford.

† This Bishop was Dr. Charles Lyttelton.

‡ Lady Mary's husband, Wortley Montagu, was son of Sidney Montagu, 2d son of the first Earl of Sandwich. He died 22 Jan. 1761, aged 80. Mrs. Montagu's husband, Edward Montagu, was son of Charles Montagu, 5th son of the first Earl of Sandwich. He was of Sandleford in Berks, and Denton in Northumberland, and died 1775. His sister Jemima married Sir Sydney Meadows.

up of all nations; and when you get into her drawing-room, you imagine you are in the first story of the tower of Babel. An Hungarian servant takes your name at the door; he gives it to an Italian, who delivers it to a Frenchman; the Frenchman to a Swiss; and the Swiss to a Polander; so that by the time you get to her ladyship's presence, you have changed your name five times without the expense of an Act of Parliament.*

"My father, brother Morris, and brother Charles,

* In another letter dated the 8th Oct. following, Mrs. Montagu writes thus. "Lady Mary W. Montagu returned to England, as it were, to finish where she began. I wish she had given us an account of the events that filled the space between. She had a terrible distemper, the most virulent cancer ever heard of, which soon carried her off. I met her at my Lady Bute's in June; and she then looked well; in three weeks after, at my return to London, I heard she was given over. The hemlock kept her drowsy and free from pain; and the physicians thought, if it had been given early, might possibly have saved her.

"She left her son one guinea. He is too much of a sage to be concerned about money, I presume. When I first knew him, a rake and a beau, I did not imagine he would addict himself at one time to Rabbinical learning; and then travel all over the east the great itinerant scavant of the world. One has read, that the great believers in the transmigration of souls suppose a man, who has been rapacious and cunning, does penance in the shape of a fox; another, cruel and bloody, enters the body of a wolf. But I believe my poor cousin in his pre-existent state, having broken all moral laws, has been senteneed to suffer in all the various characters of human life. He has run through them all unsuccessfully enough. His dispute with Mr. Needham has been communicated to me by a gentleman of the Museum; and I think he will gain no laurels there. But he speaks as decisively, as if he had been bred in Pharaoh's court, in all the learning of the Egyptians. He has certainly very uncommon parts; but too much of the rapidity of his mother's genius."

are in town. My brother Robinson has been in Kent most part of the winter. I made my sister a visit at Bath-Easton, just before the meeting of the Parliament in November. I had the happiness of finding her in better health than usual. Lady Bab Montagu is much recovered of late. I am surprised she did not try, what a change of climate would do in her favour.

"I own I have such a spirit of rambling, I want nothing but liberty to indulge it, to carry me as far as Rome. I believe, I should make it the limit of my curiosity. Its ancient greatness, and its present splendor, make it the object most worth one's attention. I hope his Holiness would pardon a heretic for reverencing the curule, more than the papal, chair. One must however own, that if imperial Rome was unrivalled in greatness, papal Rome has been unparalleled in policy. I leave to heroes and statesmen to dispute, whether force or cunning is the most honourable means to establish power. One calls violence valour; the other civilly terms fraud wisdom: plain sense and plain honesty cannot reverence either.

"I am very sorry that you have lost Sir Francis Eyles: an agreeable friend is greatly missed in all situations; but must be particularly so in a foreign country. I envy you the opportunities you have of getting a familiar acquaintance with the Italian language. I should be much obliged to you, if you could get me all the works of Paulus Jovius in Latin; Thucydides's History, translated into Italian by Francisco di Soldo Strozzi, a quarto edition, 1563; History of Naples by Angelo di Costanza, a

folio, 1582; the best translation of Demosthenes; the poetical works of Vittoria Colonna; of Carlo Marrat's daughter; and La Conquista di Granada; all Cardinal Bembo's works; the History of the Incas by Garcilessa de la Vega in Spanish. If you could any where pick up the old French Romance of Perce Forest, I should be glad of it; and also L'Histoire du Port Royal. I should be glad of the life of Vittoria Colonna; but do not know in what language it is written.

"The town is now in a great uproar from an outrageous piece of gallantry, as it is called, of the young Earl of ***, who has carried off Miss *** ***, as it is said, to Holland. He wrote a letter to his wife, one of the best and most beautiful women in the world, to tell her he had quitted her for ever; that she was too good and too tender for him; and he had so violent a passion for Missy, he could not help doing as he did. It will not be long, before

the maid
Will weep the fury of her love betray'd.

His affections are as uncertain, as they are unlawful, and ungenerous. Nothing more than a total want of honour, and honesty, is necessary, to make a man follow the dictates of a loose unbridled passion. But what could prevail on the unhappy girl to quit her parents, country, reputation, and all her future hopes in life, one cannot imagine! One should hardly imagine too, that a girl, who has flirted for some years with the pretty men in town;

Has been finest at every fine shew,
And frolick'd it all the long day,

should be taken with the' simple passion of some village nymph, single out her shepherd, and live under a mountain by the purling of a rill, contentedly,

"The world forgetting, by the world forgot!"

"It seems Miss *** *** was a great lover of French novels; and much enamoured of Mr. Rousseau's Julie. How much have these writers to answer for, who make vice into a regular system, gild it with specious colours, and deceive the mind into guilt, it would have started at, without the aid of art and cheat of sentiment. I have wrote the names of the delinquents very plain, as God forbid their crime should be imputed to any innocent person. There is danger of that, if one does not explain oneself.

"I believe one may affirm, though it is not declared in form, that our young Queen is in a way to promise us an heir to Great Britain in a few months. Lady Sarah Lennox is very soon to be married to Sir William Bunbury's son; and Lady Raymond, it is said, to Lord Robert Bertie. Mr. Beauclerk was to have been married to Miss Draycott; but, by a certain coldness in his manner, she fancied her lead-mines were rather the objects of his love than herself; and so, after the licence was taken out, she gave him his congè. Rosamond's pond was never thought of by the forsaken swain. His prudent parents thought of the trans-

mutation of metals, and to how much gold the lead might have been changed; and rather regret the loss.

"I am very glad you have the good fortune to have Sir Richard Lyttelton, and the Duchess of Bridgewater, at Naples. I know not any house, where the sweet civilities of life are so well dispensed, as at theirs. Sir Richard adds to elegance of manners, a most agreeable vivacity and wit in conversation. He was made for society, such as society should be. I shall be glad, when you write, to hear of the Duchess of Bridgewater's health; and the recovery of Sir Richard's legs: though he sits smiling in his great chair with constant good humour, it is pity he should be confined to it! I wish you would present my compliments to him and my Lady Duchess.

"In the way of public news, I should tell you, Lord Halifax is adored in Ireland."

ART. DCCLXXVII. *Desultory observations on the sensibilities and eccentricities of men of genius: with remarks on Poets.*

THE herd of servile imitators bring every thing into disgrace by affectation and excess. In those departments of literature, which require genius, this is more particularly the case. For a little while the tinsel copier becomes the rage of the public, till the glare of his colours satiates; and then, as the tide suddenly turns, the just fame of the original is drawn back into the vortex, and is sunk in

one common ruin. On these occasions every yelping cur joins in echoing the cry of contempt, and some new whim engages the temporary curiosity of the mob.

There was a time when Rousseau was the idol of the admirers of genius; and all his weaknesses and extravagances were respected as the necessary concomitants of his extraordinary powers. Immediately there arose multitudes of absurd followers, who, having at length corrupted the judgments of their indiscriminate readers, brought neglect and condemnation upon their original. For some years therefore we have heard the mob, the learned as well as the unlearned mob, talk in terms of uniform contempt and anger, of what they are pleased to call "the morbid sensibilities of sickly genius." Were this disapprobation confined to pretended feelings, of which the discovery requires a very small share of sagaciousness, it would be just. But it seems as if they meant to put their mark of scorn on every eccentricity of him who lives in that high temperament, in which alone works of genius can be produced.

Can we believe that Burns would have possessed the powers to produce his exquisite poem of "Tam O'Shanter" without having often trembled at some of those images, which the expansive blaze of his genius has there painted? Without a continued familiarity with all those hurried and impetuous feelings, which brought him to a premature grave, could he have written those enchanting songs which breathe so high a tone of fancy and passion?

In the cold regions of worldly prudence, in the selfish habitations of dull propriety, may be found riches and health, and long life, and an insipid respect. But, if he who is born with the higher talents, long accustoms himself to the discipline of such habits, the splendour of his imagination will become impenetrably huddled up in the fogs of this heavy atmosphere, and he will scarce be able to produce higher efforts of intellect, than one "of Nature's fools."

When Beattie gave up his ambition to metaphysical philosophy, he ceased to be a poet. The lyre of Edwin, which had breathed all the soul of poetry in his first canto, began to flag and grow dull in the second; and then lost its tones, and never vibrated for the last thirty years of the owner's life. I certainly am too prejudiced to give a candid opinion; but I would have preferred a few more stanzas, in the style of the first, from the Minstrel's harp, to all the bulky volumes of prose that Beattie wrote.

How delightful to have left a perpetual memorial of some of those "ten thousand glorious visions," which are always floating across the brain of the highly endowed! But for those, who possess the ability, to go to the grave without having preserved a relic of them; to have suffered them to have passed "like the fleeting clouds," without one attempt to leave a record of the aspirations of a more exalted nature, is a mortifying reflection, which must depress true genius even to despondence. He, in whom Nature has sowed the energies of vigorous intellect, may be thrown into stations

where there is nothing to fan the flames within him; in that case it is probable he may never discover any qualities above the herd of mankind: but an internal restlessness and discontent will prey upon his spirits and embitter his life.

There are no writer's criticisms so calculated to stifle the habits and the efforts of genius as those of Johnson. The cause of this is to be sought partly in the *truly* "morbid" propensities of his temper; and partly in the history of his life. I suspect that in the early resolution

"Nullius jurare in verba magistri,"

he soon sought originality at the expence of truth. His love of contradiction therefore became a disease, and finding in preceding biographers too much inclination to panegyrize the subjects of their memoirs, and to contemplate them with a blind admiration, he determined to shew the powers of his anatomizing pen, and to tear off the veil of respect that covered them. Thus he was pleased to seize every opportunity of exhibiting their personal frailties, and mental defects; and of treating them sometimes with anger, and sometimes with haughtiness. But there was another circumstance which had a tendency to warp the justice of his sincere opinions. Early in life he had probably discovered the inclination of his own imagination to predominate dangerously over his reason. On this account he used every exertion to subdue it; to reduce it to the severest trammels of argumentation, and the most sober paths of mental employment. Hence he acquired a habit of preferring the lower depart-

ments of the Muse; he best liked reasoning in verse; dry ethical couplets; and practical observations upon daily life. His private feelings hesitated between Dryden and Pope; and all the praise he has given to Milton, or Cowley, or Akenside, or Collins, or Gray, is extorted, penurious, and mixed with every degrading touch that the ingenuity of his acute mind, and force of his energetic language could introduce.

The public received these disingenuous lives with ill-tempered avidity. They who had never known what it was to be warmed by the flights of fancy; in whose torpid heads the description of Eden, the wailings over Lycidas, and all the imagery of Comus never raised one corresponding idea, but who concealed their lamentable deficiencies of mind before the awful name of Milton; now that they were sanctioned by Johnson, boldly gloried in their want of taste. All the gall which they had so long been nourishing in their hearts was now vomited forth without restraint, and the cry, which dulness had always secretly disseminated against the aberrations of genius, was avowed as the acknowledged dictate of sense and truth.

Johnson is a proof, among a thousand glaring proofs, how little the wisest men "know themselves;" and how often they pride themselves on points, in which they are strikingly deficient. His great boast seems to have been his attention to

"That which before us lies in daily life."

Yet did ever any man more offend the proprieties of daily life than Johnson? His unhappy and ne-

glected person, his uncouth dress, his rude manners, and his irregular habits, required the full eminence of his fame, and force of his talents, to counterbalance their offensiveness. Yet probably he would have exclaimed

"Non tali auxilio, non defensoribus istis!"

He seems to have thought that he himself required no such set-offs. And, if we judge him by the rules by which he judged others, such set-offs ought not to have availed.

But I trust that I shall never judge by rules so harsh, and in my opinion so unwise. I regret the depravity of Johnson's taste, and I lament that excess of envy and pride, the unconquerable disease of his disposition, which, in spite of all his efforts, too frequently overpowered his reason. But I venerate his vast abilities, the strong and original operations of his mind, his force of ratiocination, and his luminous and impressive language. I venerate also the mingled goodness of his heart, his melting charity, his exalted principles, his enlarged moral notions, and the many sublime virtues of his mixed and unhappy life. But this is not all: according to the sentiments I have expressed, I necessarily go even further. To me it appears that some of his most offensive eccentricities were strongly connected with his most prominent excellencies.

To the constant abstraction of his mind, to the perpetual occupation of thinking, we must surely attribute much of the neglect of his person, much of his inattention to polished manners, and the etiquette

of the world, and much of his irregular mode of life. But to this also is certainly attributable the clearness and arrangement of his ideas, the readiness of his thoughts upon every subject that was presented to him, and the perspicuity and happiness of his stile.

Let us hear no more reflections then on the "morbid" sensibility of the votaries of fancy. He, whose feelings are not acute, sometimes even to disease, can never touch the true chords of the lyre. To be in constant terror of exceeding the cold bounds of propriety, to be perpetually on the watch against any transient extravagance of mind, is not to be a poet. It is true that eccentricity alone does not constitute genius; and he who is known only by its foibles, unaccompanied by its advantages, deserves little mercy. And little can he expect to meet with it, if he recollects that in the censorious eye of the world, even the happiest attainments of mental excellence, will make but little amends for the smallest deviations from prudence of conduct.

That chilling philosophy, which demands the reconcilement of qualities nearly incompatible, has always appeared to me far from true wisdom. We may lament, but we should attempt to soothe and treat leniently, the little ebullitions of that fire, which at other times is exerted to enlighten and charm us. We should pity rather than despise the occasional lamentations from the pain of the thorn, which is too often at the breast of those, who delight us by their songs.

In thus venturing opinions so uncongenial with those of the great as well as little vulgar, I am aware

of the extent to which I expose myself. The selfish worldling, the interested parent, the struggler in the paths of ordinary ambition, the stupid, the sterile-hearted, and the sensual, all will exclaim, "If such be the effects of poetry, heaven defend me and all my connections from being poets!" Poor wretches! They need not fear; poets, they may rest assured, are not made out of such materials!

It is with some hesitation that I venture to intermix, even thus sparingly, such desultory disquisitions as this, with the duty I have imposed on myself of transcribing old title pages, and tables of contents. But a friend has flattered me by hinting, that a few more such articles as that which I presumed to insert on the character of Cowper would produce a pleasing diversity in this work. In a wet morning therefore, though, with a head distracted by hateful business, of which I grow daily more impatient, and far removed from the conveniences of study and composition, I have assumed the courage to put into language a train of thoughts, excited by an accidental observation, which I last night read in a book of criticism.

July 21, 1805.

Art. DCCLXXVIII. *The Wizard. A Kentish Tale.*

Stans pede in uno.

The following Tale comes from a quarter, which I am not at liberty to disclose. It is an experiment of rapid and unlaboured composition (the first 310

lines being composed, as I can witness, in one day,) which I am enjoined to leave to its fate without a comment.

THE WIZARD.

Canto the First.

" Whence com'st thou, ancient man, and where
Have past thy numerous days, declare!
Thy beard is long; thy hair is white,
Yet piercing are thine eyes, and bright;
Thy vigorous step and brawny arm
Might youth e'en in his prime alarm;
Thy deep Stentorian voice's sound
Echoes these spacious courts around;
In short thy tone, thy look betrays
The wizard form of ancient days!"
The old man drew a fearful sigh,
And then he thus began reply:
" Enquire not thou, too far to know
What mysteries wait us here below;
But listen, and with patience hear
That which is fit should meet thine ear!
Learn then, that many a weary age
I've trod the world's tempestuous stage;
Seen many a generation borne
To rest beneath the funeral urn;
And many a king, and many a queen
Thro' Europe's various lands have seen
Sit on the throne, then take their flight
To the deep shades of lasting night;
From soil to soil, from east to west
My pilgrimage, devoid of rest,
I've still pursued; for Heaven decrees
My weary feet shall have no ease;

Tudors, Plantagenets, I've view'd,
(For never yet in solitude
Glided my active hours,) and listen'd
When the last Charles's beauties glisten'd
In splendid robes of gaudy vice,
And could with syren songs entice;
Thro' England's bounds from day to day
I've wander'd with the merry lay;
And still with ease admittance found,
Where in old halls the feast went round.
Thus many a tale could I unfold,
Would thrill thy very soul, if told;
And many a strange and laughing feat
Thy wond'ring ears would lightly greet;
And many a change of house and land,
And many a child of Fortune's band,
And many a victim of Mischance,
And many a race, whose airy dance
Ended in sad Oblivion's grave,
While some not Virtue's self could save!"
He paus'd: the listener look'd with awe;
Truth in the old man's face he saw:
He spake; and as he spake, grew pale:
"O sire, if thus thou canst unveil
The deeds, that deep beneath the shade
Of tyrant Time have long been laid,
O tell me, when thou once wast here
In golden Bess's happier year,
How did these peopled vills appear?
Perchance full often thou hast been
E'en on this spot in times between;
And canst relate, (for still I cast
My fancy most on what is past)

Scenes of the whisker'd chiefs of yore,
Who, where I tread, have trod before;
Tell the chang'd dress, the alter'd name,
The lost estate, the waning fame;
How vain to seek in mean descendant
The grandsire's spirit still attendant;
And with the peer of haughty air
The low progenitor compare;
Contrast the straw-roof'd cot, that stood
Where bullies now the mansion proud,
And paint from actual observation
The freaks of time on every station!"
  Smil'd the old Seer, and strok'd his beard;
And vigour in his eye appear'd:
  "Enquiring youth," he glad replied,
"Thy wish can well be gratified:
For when I last was on this plain,
That golden heroine did reign,
In whom the nation well have gloried,
For better monarch ne'er was storied;
And strangely have I look'd about,
To find my ancient patrons out;
But scarce a trace can now be seen,
Of what in those bright days has been.
The low are high, the high are low,
And ne'er can Time his overthrow
In hues more strong and hideous shew!
  "The night was gathering round me dark;
The rising groves I 'gan to mark,
Where *******'s heroes wont to call
The pilgrim to the cheerful hall;
Where spread the feast, and blaz'd the fire,
And thrill'd the minstrel's joyous lyre.

Quicker my weary footsteps flew,
To reach the place of rest they knew:
I sought the gate; the pale I cross't;
But soon in spreading lawns was lost;
Nor gleam'd the window to the sight,
To draw the traveller aright.
Thus wand'ring sad, beneath a thorn
I laid my weary limbs till morn;
And when the sun began display
The misty charms of opening day,
Lord! what an alter'd prospect glar'd!
Clump'd groves, trim plains, and vallies bar'd!
And by a winding gravel road
Up to the splendid dome I trod!
No ****** there, no rafter'd roof,
Whose dark-brown oak had seem'd time proof;
No belted knights, no coats of mail,
No spreading tables there prevail;
New names, new manners, and new modes!—
Each room a silken luxury loads;
And where five hundred years beheld
One race suspend the gorgeous shield,
A favour'd tribe from distant soils
The long-kept heritage despoils!
With sinking heart, with drooping pace
My mournful footsteps I retrace.
I seek for Sydney's spacious groves,*
Where Genius, Love, and Virtue roves;
Where mighty deeds of chivalry
Upraise th' heroic fame on high,

* Penshurst, the well-known seat of the Sydneys. The poet must not be understood too literally. A descendant, by the female line, who has taken the name, now possesses, and resides at, this venerable old mansion. Some years ago it was uninhabited.

And splendid show, and regal trains
Illume the dome where Honour reigns.
I listen on the distant hill,
To hear what notes the breezes fill!
'Tis silent all: no murmuring tone
Upon the passing gale is blown!
The dreadful stillness glooms my breast:
The worst I'll know, or ere I rest!
Slowly descend my faultering feet;
And now the massy gate I greet:
O hark with what an hollow sound
My staff's enquiring blows rebound!
No coming step my heart rejoices;
No chearful shout, no mingled voices.
Deserted—dead—not one to state
Their vanish'd glory's cruel fate!
On every tower, through every room,
There hangs a cold and withering gloom;
And Melancholy with black wings
O'er all her dying requiem sings!
O let me haste to yonder fane,
And o'er their ashes once complain;
With tears each sacred name bedew,
Then hasten from the heart-breaking view!
" Once more my languid steps I turn,
Where kindred splendors wont to burn.
See Knowle's* proud turrets rise to sight,
Where Buckhurst nurs'd his visions bright,

* Knowle, the seat of the Sackvilles. Thomas Sackville, created by Queen Elizabeth, Lord Buckhurst, and by James I. Earl of Dorset, was a poet of a sublime genius, as appears by his celebrated Induction to his Legend of the Duke of Buckingham, in the " Mirror for Magistrates" 1559, 4to. See Vol. III. of Warton's Hist. Engl. Poetry.

Till hateful business damp'd his flame,
And for vile titles barter'd fame!
I saw him in his youthful glory,
Inspir'd with themes of ancient story;
I heard him strike the lyre with rapture,
And every listener's bosom capture!
Beam'd his bright glowing eye, and thrill'd
His quivering form with fancy fill'd,
Till the chill cup of worldly lore
Quench'd the rich thoughts to wake no more!
Then cautious looks, and crabbed mien,
Dry words and selfish hopes are seen.
And now in courtly guise he wanders;
Nor more by woods and rivers ponders!—
But Time hath laid him in the grave,
And his youth's deeds his name shall save!—
Now as I reach the gorgeous towers,
Methinks again my bosom lours;
Yet yonder see it lifts its height,
And seems with freshen'd splendor bright.
I view the shield, the name I spell;
SACKVILLE! 'tis here thou still dost dwell!
Come forth!—Thou com'st.—Ah, tender boy,
Dost thou this princely dome enjoy?
Art thou the heir of Buckhurst's line?
O mayst thou with his genius join
Less courtly arts, and manlier spirit,
And thus regard thy proper merit?
But yet the ruff-encircled Don,
Bearded and fierce, I little con
In thee, fair imp of alter'd days,
When Luxury melts with all her rays!*

* This amiable young Duke died in Ireland by the fall of his horse, in Spring, 1815.

"Then let me fly to Medway's stream,
Where flowing Wyat us'd to dream
His moral fancies! Ivied towers,*
'Neath which the silver Naiad pours
Her murmuring waves thro' verdant meads,
Where the rich herd luxuriant feeds,
How often in your still recesses
I've seen the Muse with careless tresses
Scatter her flowers, as Wyat bade,
In Spring's enamel'd colours clad!
Lov'd castle, art thou still array'd
In fame, or do thine honours fade?
They fade! Lo, from the tottering walls
Down in huge heaps the fragment falls;
And lonely are thy courts; and still
The voice that whisper'd to the rill;
Thy very name is sunk; how few
Know it once shone in glory's hue!
"A little farther yet my staff,
And I in Beauty's beams shall quaff
The golden goblet of delight,
With gifts of Tudor's heroine bright.
O fairest Margaret,† many a day
Didst thou Eliza's favour sway!
The mental treasure, rich repast,
Which can the storms of age outlast,
Thou drew'st, and I with thee can pore
Intent on sacred Wisdom's store.

* Allington Castle, on the banks of the Medway, where lived Sir Thomas Wyat, the poet, the friend and cotemporary of Lord Surrey. The family has been extinct near a century. The castle is a ruin.

† Margaret, wife of John Astley, Esq. of the Palace at Maidstone. Her husband was master of the Jewels, to Queen Elizabeth. She died his widow, in 1601. See Gent. Mag. Vol. LXVII. p. 548.

And, oh, art thou too gone? No trace
In this fall'n dome, of thy fair race?
None, save where yonder walls enclose
The mouldering bones, in sad repose;
And the sepulchral tablet tells,
Where Astley's only relic dwells!"*
  Now paus'd, and sigh'd the reverend Seer;
His furrow'd cheek betray'd a tear.
The listener caught the infectious sigh,
And chearing comfort would supply;
But languid, listless, pale and trembling,
The old man's grief is past dissembling.
"Why am I doom'd from age to age
To pass this weary pilgrimage?
Ah, why for ever doom'd to brave
The loss of patrons in the grave?
Where'er I go, new faces rise;
New names, new modes, my heart surprize;
And Fortune's restless wheel removes,
Whate'er my anxious bosom loves!"
  "Take comfort, holy man, and know
He, who has chear'd thy former woe,
Will still support thee thro' the future,
Be but to him an humble suitor!"
  "Thou need'st not teach my wounded heart
The balm Religion can impart!
But tho' Religion pierce the gloom,
Full deep I feel my tedious doom!"
  "Rest, venerable patriarch, rest!
Let sleep compose that sorrowing breast!
And when awakes to-morrow's sun,
Thy tale of wonders shall go on!"

* Monuments in Maidstone church.

Low to his host the old man bow'd,
And smil'd with heartfelt gratitude:
The chearing cup his lips assail'd;
The enlivening beverage prevail'd;
His bosom heav'd, his cheeks grew red,
And many a witty jest he said:
And many a laughing anecdote
From sires departed could he quote;
And many a tale, more fit to hear
In private, than for public ear,
Of deeds which would destroy the pride
Of those, who now in splendour ride,
Or stain, with ruby spots of blood,
Those who now boast of nought but good.
But these the Muse disdains to sing;
For sacred is her silver string!
Clos'd were the pilgrim's eyes at last;
Warm in his cloak his limbs were cast,
And heavy slumbers bound him fast.
Long was the night; the whistling blast
Howl'd round the rocking dome, like thunder,
And lull'd the old man's dreams in wonder:
In floods, by fits, came down the shower,
And fearful was the torrent's roar!
Slept the strange Seer, as if entranc'd,
While in his brain wild fancy danc'd:
Mov'd his huge limbs, his bosom stirr'd;
His lips breath'd many a mutter'd word;
And on his mighty brow was set
Many an huge drop of painful sweat!
The host beheld with shuddering fear
These marks of his strange guest appear,
And anxious watch'd till morning's beams
The wondrous Seer's departing dreams.

The morning came; the Bard awoke,
And gladness on his visage broke;
And thus his host he greeted fair:
"Kind host, whose hospitable care
Shelter'd these grey locks from the storm,
And sooth'd to rest this weary form;
Long may'st thou reap each sweet reward,
For goodness to a wand'ring Bard!
And long may thy posterity
The shock of Time's encounters try;
And when I come, in centuries hence,
To seek their name, and ask their sense,
Still may they shine in growing splendor,
With virtuous talent their defender!
"And now recruited strength inspires,
To feed thy wish, my wonted fires.
From gentle Astley's silent urn
I knew not where my steps to turn;
But long I linger'd, thoughtful, slow,
Fault'ring, uncertain, full of woe;
Till deep within the woodland shades
An ancient hall my mind upbraids,*
Where Norman knights for many a year
Have heav'd the sword, and hurl'd the spear.
Illustrious knights, whose valiant sires
Bold Richard led to Acon's spires,
Whence safe return'd, in this thy seat,
Ulcomb, they fix'd, their calm retreat
For many a rolling century,
That never saw their virtues die!

* Ulcomb, on the borders of the Weald of Kent, the seat of the very ancient family of St. Leger from soon after the Conquest, till the seventeenth century. It was lately the possession and residence of J. H. P. Clarke, Esq. of Derbyshire; now, by marriage, of the Earl of Ormond.

Far-fam'd Sir Warham,* when thy hand,
About to seek a savage land,
Parted from mine, how swell'd my breast,
With prescience of thy fate possest!
What bold descendant shall I find
Within thine ancient bowers reclin'd?
Near as I draw, I mark each sound;
No name like thine is heard around!
Alas! 'twas here! the tower is raz'd;
The race is gone; the shield defac'd;
Here other owners hold their reign,
And thine in distant soils remain!
" I curse my fate, my breast I beat,
That still are doom'd my plodding feet
To seek for friends who all are gone;
And still I'm forc'd to journey on!
" Deep are the roads; the burning soil
Of rocky sand augments my toil;
With tongue all parch'd, with dust besmear'd,
How vainly have I often steer'd
My course oblique to some known spot,
Where I in happier days forgot
Yet for a little while my sorrow;
And fresh uprising on the morrow,
Bounding and gay my path pursu'd!
For now I meet repulses rude
From faces new, and forms new-fangled,
Selfish and mean, tho' oft bespangled!

* Sir Warham St. Leger, who, as well as his father, Sir Anthony, enjoyed places of high trust in Ireland, was killed there in a skirmish with the Rebels, temp. Q. Eliz. From that time the family have been principally resident in that kingdom, and have been ennobled by the title of Doneraile.

"Now o'er these waves, which turrets crown,
The moated castle's honours frown;*
Echoes the drawbridge as I tread!
Bold Colepeper, still lift thy head,
And say if all thy knightly train,
Who long have held their valiant reign,
Far spread o'er Cantium's proud domain,
Say, if they yet their power retain?
From yonder grove a Spirit groans;
A shriek thro' every turret moans!
No warrior answers; but a sigh
Seems in low murmuring sounds to cry;
"'Tis done! In deep Oblivion's tomb
Long has Colepeper found his doom!"
And is it thus? O thou, whom oft
I dandled with caresses soft
On my light knee, when Essex strove
To try a maiden sovereign's love?
Thou, who in hours of death hast stood
Undaunted at rebellion's flood,
And, by the royal Martyr's side,
Strov'st the mad torrent's course to guide,
Lives then thy name no more? Are all,
Wealth, honours, buried in the fall?——
No voice replies: opens no gate!
In other soils again I seek my fate.
"Pause," cried the host, "thou holy Seer;
Recruit thy strength; thy spirits cheer;

* Leedes Castle, formerly possessed by Lord Colepeper; for an account of whom see Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion.

The Knightly family of Colepeper were spread for many ages over various parts of Kent; but have been long extinct; or, at least, have lost all their property, though one male was lately remaining.

Nor always dwell on tales of grief!
Gay thoughts would give thee some relief!
Tell all the "gorgeous gallery"
Of gallant scenes that lifted high
The court of that heroic dame,
Who stands emblaz'd with mighty fame
In all records of chivalry!
Of Kenilworth's and Elv'tham's shows,*
Where lords and knights in brilliant rows,
Bedeck'd in splendid heraldry,
Shone at the feast of ladies fair:
And shouts of triumph shook the air."
"O hospitable host, those hours
Of genuine joy that strew'd with flowers
Each path I trod, will but renew
The darkness of Time's present hue!
All now is cold, insipid, sad;
In tinsel affectation clad
The formal table gives no feast,
The weakly pleasure has no zest.
Where op'd the spacious hall of yore,
Rang'd the long tables down the floor,
Mirth sounded with a genuine roar,
Alas, those sounds are heard no more!
Each for himself, the mean design,
At home to save, abroad to shine,
The generous passions die away,
And leave the heart to vice a prey."
"Thou sorrowing Seer, ah! do not moan
For all heroic virtue gone!
In these vile days a few inherit
A bolder heart, a nobler spirit

* See Nichols's Progresses of Queen Elizabeth.

Than ever in thy vaunted times
Were told in tales, or sung in rhymes.
Behold at Acre's towers on high,
Smith wave the flag of victory!
And mark across the mighty main
The palm that Nelson's* thunders gain!
With these, by whose immortal sword
Nations are sav'd, and thrones restor'd,
Compare not thou the puny knights,
Whom Fame records for feudal fights!
Eclips'd is all their ancient glory,
And fade the colours of their story!"
"True didst thou say; but do not chide
The talk of age," the Seer replied:
"We love the past; it takes a hue
Which ne'er is gain'd by what is new:
Each object seems, by Time's assistance,
Of charm more lovely when at-distance!
"I hear the hounds on yonder hill.
O let me breathe the freshening air;
Mine ear with joy those echoes fill,
And I must to the woods repair!
With sturdy stride and staff in hand,
Plains, mountains, vallies, I command;
And youth, as sounds the horn, again
Will seem to flow in every vein.
I haste away: my host adieu!
This evening to my story true,
Thine hospitable roof I'll seek,
And deeds of former ages speak!"

END OF CANTO I.

* This was written and sent to the Printer before the death of that immortal hero, of whose fame it would be idle for a common pen, and on this occasion, to attempt the delineation.

The dusk of evening sail'd along;
Hush'd was the last bird's warbling song;
But, bright within, the high-pil'd heap
A chearful blazing flame did keep,
Where o'er the wide hearth of the Hall
Hung many a trophy on the wall.
For here the host had lov'd to cherish
Marks, that with others gladly perish.
High branch'd the stag's horns on each door,
And gorgeous was th' heraldric lore;
Glimmer'd the black cross, and the red;
And many a mystic figure spread
In gaudy hues, enrich'd the cieling,
The blood of ancient chiefs revealing;
While in the oriel's gloom'd recesses
Shone Knights in all their feudal dresses.
The feast was call'd; the table stor'd,
And gaily look'd the lightsome board,
When, faithful to his plighted word,
Knock'd at the door the weary Bard;
Long was the way, the chase was hard:
Yet vigorous step, and ruddy look,
The strange old Pilgrim ne'er forsook;
He loos'd his belt; he wip'd his brow,
And on a bench he threw him now:
Then did he quaff the offer'd bowl,
And gladness in his eye did roll;
And mingled it with many a jest,
That to th' enlivening draught gave zest;
And many a wink, and many a smile,
And many a cup that interpos'd,
With many a witty comment gloz'd,

The transient moment did beguile
Sooth'd memory of all his toil.
Now timid Beauty came to gaze
Upon the old Man's mystic ways,
And view his reverend form, and hear
The tale, that struck the wond'ring ear.
The old Man bow'd, and smil'd with glee,
Sweet Beauty at his beck to see,
While, as his visage glow'd with fire,
They touch'd with thrilling notes the wire;
And where at distance, mounted high,
Amid the seats of minstrelsy,
The full-mouth'd organ op'd her keys,
A blue-eye'd maiden swept with ease
Its deeper tones! the mellow sound
'Gan from the vaulted roof rebound,
And o'er the old man's senses stole,
Melted his frame, and rous'd his soul.
" O ye fair Nymphs, whose music thrills
My cold breast, and my fancy fills,
O how can I these gifts requite,
That swell my bosom with delight!
My faultering tongue has lost the art
Visions of rapture to impart;
And feebly from my wither'd brain,
And painful, comes the frozen strain!
What would ye hear, ye blue-eyed Maids?
Where would ye pierce Time's close-drawn shades?
Would ye to Barham's distant Down
Resort to hear of old renown?
Star of the East,* whose beauty rais'd
A flame, that all around thee blaz'd,

* Lady Bowyer, daughter of Sir Anthony Aucher of Bourne, was

Wake from the tomb, and lead the hall
In noble Ancher's antient hall;
Bring all around the Cantian youth
With vows of everlasting truth:
See poets, statesmen, round thee crowd,
And soldiers breathe their sighs aloud!
Young Cowper* there, with modest mien,
Full pensive in thy train is seen;
No word he speaks, but in his eye
A thousand thoughts thou may'st descry!
'O hear my suit,' he seems to say;
'For tho' no splendor I display,
Some spirit whispers to my soul,
That future ages, as they roll,
Shall view my now-unhonour'd name,
Encircled with resplendent fame;
And from my blood a Bard shall rise
To lift our glory to the skies!'
And there see Hammond† plead his cause;
Tears from the tender fair he draws.
Ah! how his glowing accents move
Predicting strains that breathe of love!
But who art thou‡ of calmer mood,
That seem'st thy offerings to intrude?

for her exquisite beauty, called *The Star in the East.* Her portrait was painted by Cornelius Jansen, and is one of his best works. See *Walpole's Anecd. of Painting, II.* 9.

* The ancestors of Earl Cowper, and of William Cowper the poet, lived, cotempotary with Lady Bowyer, at Ratling Court, in Nonington in this neighbourhood.

† The ancestors of James Hammond, the elegiac poet, then lived at St. Albans Court, in Nonington, where the same family still reside.

‡ Gibbon, the Historian, whose ancestors then lived at Westcliffe, near Dover.

In terms precise, and studied phrase
Thou talk'st of deeds of ancient days;
And Learning's lore, and Wisdom's guise,
The richness of thy tongue supplies.
Full many a tale canst thou relate
Of mighty nations sunk by fate!
'O hark!' he cries, 'if, beauteous maid,
My humble suit may be repaid,
From thee shall spring a wondrous Sage,
Whose praise shall spread from age to age;
And History's pages shall enshrine
Gibbon's immortal name with thine!"

"The star is fled; no more the sound
Of melting music floats around;
Fall the bold turrets; sinks the gate,
Where *ermin'd* banners* with brave state
Mock'd gorgeously the wanton air;
And Aucher† rules no longer there.
Ah! who with sacrilegious whim
Has plac'd the dome of modern trim,‡
Where once the massy Gothic tower
Was wont in generous gloom to lour?
In vain I look: no lovely dames
Come forth to fan our dying flames!
In silence on the weedy stream
Echo is left her hours to dream;
And still is every laurell'd walk,
Where Love and Genius wont to talk!

* The field of the Aucher arms was *ermine, with three lions rampant on a chief.*

† The male line of the Auchers became extinct nearly a century ago.

‡ The present mansion is a comparatively modern building.

E'en o'er yon sacred neighbouring tomb,
Where Hooker's* ashes wait their doom,
No spirit kindred wisdom breathes;
No sage attempts congenial wreathes!"

ART. DCCLXXIX. *Extempore Lines on seeing a detachment of the Rifle Corps, under Col. Beckwith, march with military music through Sandgate, on Oct.* 21, 1805,† *on their way to embark for foreign service.*

FAREWELL, ye Brave! your steps may Glory wait,
And Victory ride Protectress of your fate!
As sounds the martial band its cheering notes,
On the charm'd air what mighty Spirit floats!
It animates my soul: it swells my breast,
With mingled thrills of joy and grief possest:
It tells of thousand dreadful dangers brav'd;
It tells of battles won, and countries sav'd;
Of Admiration kindling in the eyes,
Whose big drops speak what Art cannot disguise;
The Conqueror's echoing shout; the endless fame,
That plays around the hero's blazing name!
But ah! how much it also tells to mourn!
The screaming wife from husband's bosom torn;
The weeping children clinging round their sire;
The sighing friends, that in despair retire!
But what are those more chasten'd tones I hear?
What mellower murmurs meet my pensive ear?
See yon bold youth in calmness urge his way;
Before his mind no wanton visions play;

* Richard Hooker, the very learned and far-famed author of the *Ecclesiastical Policy*, was rector here, and has a monument in the church. See *Walton's Lives*.

† The day on which the Battle of Trafalgar was fought. At the very hour the author was walking by the sea at Sandgate, when he imagined he perceived an unusually awful appearance in the air.

But thus, in thought compos'd, he seems to say:
"Farewell, ye hills, where many a summer's day
"I've pass'd; where many a sweet autumnal morn,
"And many a wintry noon, with hound and horn,
"I've gladden'd all your echoes! O farewell!
"Tho' in my heart the parting sigh will swell,
"'Tis not for ease I sigh, nor dangers shun!
"'Tis Gratitude's sweet sigh for pleasures gone!
"I go at Glory's call in distant fields
"To seek the joy the Conqueror's laurel yields:
"It is my country's call: I go to fight
"Her generous warfare with chastis'd delight.
"O ye, who now with wat'ry eyes pursue,
"And heaving bosoms, our departing crew,
"Weep not for us; if favouring Heaven decrees
"Our safe return cross yonder spreading seas,
"With keener rapture we shall view again
"Each well-known cliff, sweet valley, and green plain,
"When wreath'd with honours, conscious of desert,
"We claim the offering of each grateful heart!
"And should we see your long-lov'd scenes no more,
"But fall like heroes, on some distant shore,
"Glory shall soothe the torturing hour of Death,
"And Fame shall consecrate our parting breath!"

ART. DCCLXXX. *Original Letter of Robert Burns.*

IN a collection of miscellaneous papers of the antiquary *Grose*, which I purchased a few years since, I found the following letter written to him by BURNS, when the former was collecting the Antiquities of Scotland: when I premise it was on the second tradition that he afterwards formed the inimitable tale

of "Tam O'Shanter," I cannot doubt of its being read with great interest. It were "burning daylight" to point out to a reader, (and who is not a reader of Burns?) the thoughts he afterwards transplanted into the rhythmical narrative.

O. G.

Letter of Robert Burns to Francis Grose, F. A. S. concerning Witch-Stories.

Among the many Witch-Stories I have heard relating to Alloway Kirk, I distinctly remember only two or three.

Upon a stormy night, amid whirling squalls of wind and bitter blasts of hail, in short, on such a night as the devil would chuse to take the air in, a farmer or farmer's servant was plodding and plashing homeward with his plough-irons on his shoulder, having been getting some repairs on them at a neighbouring smithy. His way lay by the Kirk of Alloway, and being rather on the anxious look-out in approaching a place so well known to be a favourite haunt of the devil and the devil's friends and emissaries, he was struck aghast by discovering through the horrors of the storm and stormy night, a light, which on his nearer approach, plainly shewed itself to proceed from the haunted edifice. Whether he had been fortified from above on his devout supplication, as is customary with people when they suspect the immediate presence of Satan; or whether, according to another custom, he had got courageously drunk at the smithy, I will not pretend to determine; but so it was that he ventured to go up to, nay into the very kirk. As good luck would

have it, his temerity came off unpunished. The members of the infernal junto were all out o some midnight business or other, and he saw nothing but a kind of kettle or caldron, depending from the roof, over the fire, simmering some heads of unchristened children, limbs of executed malefactors, &c. for the business of the night. It was, in for a penny, in for a pound, with the honest ploughman: so without ceremony he unhooked the caldron from off the fire, and pouring out the damnable ingredients, inverted it on his head, and carried it fairly home, where it remained long in the family a living evidence of the truth of the story.

Another story which I can prove to be equally authentic was as follows.

On a market day in the town of Ayr, a farmer from Carrick, and consequently whose way lay by the very gate of Aloway kirk-yard, in order to cross the river Doon at the old bridge, which is about two or three hundred yards further on than the said gate, had been detained by his business 'till by the time he reached Aloway, it was the wizard hour, between night and morning. Though he was terrified, with a blaze streaming from the kirk, yet as it is a well-known fact that to turn back on these occasions is running by far the greatest risk of mischief, he prudently advanced on his road. When he had reached the gate of the kirk-yard, he was surprised and entertained, through the ribs and arches of an old gothic window which still faces the highway, to see a dance of witches merrily footing it round their old sooty blackguard master, who was keeping them all alive with the powers of his bag-pipe. The farmer stop-

ping his horse to observe them a little, could plainly descry the faces of many old women of his acquaintance and neighbourhood. How the gentleman was dressed, tradition does not say; but the ladies were all in their smocks: and one of them happening unluckily to have a smock which was considerably too short to answer all the purpose of that piece of dress, our farmer was so tickled that he involuntarily burst out, with a loud laugh, "Weel luppen,* Maggy wi' the short sark!" and recollecting himself, instantly spurred his horse to the top of his speed. I need not mention the universally known fact, that no diabolical power can pursue you beyond the middle of a running stream. Lucky it was for the poor farmer that the river Doon was so near; for notwithstanding the speed of his horse, which was a good one, against he reached the middle of the arch of the bridge, and consequently the middle of the stream, the pursuing, vengeful, hags, were so close at his heels, that one of them actually sprung to seize him; but it was too late, nothing was on her side of the stream but the horse's tail, which immediately gave way to her infernal grip, as if blasted by a stroke of lightning; but the farmer was beyond her reach. However, the unsightly, tail-less condition of the vigorous steed was to the last hour of the noble creature's life, an awful warning to the Carrick farmers, not to stay too late in Ayr markets.

The last relation I shall give, though equally true, is not so well identified as the two former, with re-

* Luppen, the Scots participle passive of the verb to leap.

gard to the scene: but as the best authorities give it for Aloway, I shall relate it.

On a summer's evening, about the time that Nature puts on her sables to mourn the expiry of the chearful day, a shepherd boy belonging to a farmer in the immediate neighbourhood of Aloway Kirk, had just folded his charge, and was returning home. As he passed the kirk, in the adjoining field, he fell in with a crew of men and women, who were busy pulling stems of the plant ragwort. He observed that as each person pulled a ragwort, he or she got astride of it and called out, "Up horsie!" on which the ragwort flew off, like Pegasus, through the air with its rider. The foolish boy likewise pulled his ragwort, and cried with the rest "Up horsie!" and, strange to tell, away he flew with the company. The first stage at which the cavalcade stopt, was a merchant's wine cellar in Bourdeaux, where, without saying by your leave, they quaffed away at the best the cellar could afford, until the morning, foe to the imps and works of darkness, threatened to throw light on the matter, and frightened them from their carousals.

The poor shepherd lad, being equally a stranger to the scene and the liquor, heedlessly got himself drunk; and when the rest took horse, he fell asleep, and was found so next day by some of the people belonging to the merchant. Somebody that understood Scotch, asking him what he was, he said he was such-a-one's herd in Aloway; and by some means or other getting home again, he lived long to tell the world the wondrous tale.

I am, &c. &c.

Rob. Burns.

Art. DCCLXXXI. *Original Letter of the late Lord Chesterfield.*

(The Superscription lost, but probably addressed to Dr. Monsey.)

SIR, *Bath, Nov.* 8, 1757.

UPON my word I think myself as much obliged to you, for your voluntary and unwearied attention to my miserable deafness, as if your prescriptions had removed or relieved it. I am now convinced, by eight years' experience, that nothing can; having tried every thing that ever was tried, and perhaps more. I have tried the urine of hares, so long and so often, that whether male, female, or hermaphrodite, I have probably had some of every gender: I have done more, I have used the galls of hares; but to as little purpose.

I have tried these waters in every possible way; I have bathed my head; pumped it; introduced the stream, and sometimes drops of the water, into my ears; but all in vain. In short I have left nothing untried, and have found nothing effectual. Your little blisters, which I still continue, have given me more relief than any thing else.

Your faculty will, I hope, pardon me, if, not having the vivacity of ladies, I have not their faith neither. I must own that they always reason right in general; but I am sorry to say at the same time, that they are commonly wrong in every particular. I stick to that middle point, which their alacrity makes them leap over.

I am persuaded that you can do more than other people; but then give me leave to add that I fear *that*

more is not a great deal. In the famous great fog, some years ago, the blind men were the best guides, having been long used to the streets; but still they only groped their way; they did not see it. You have, I am sure, too much of the skill, and too little of the craft, of your profession, to be offended with this image. I heartily wish that it was not so just a one.

Why physical ills exist at all, I do not know; and I am very sure that no Doctor of Divinity has ever yet given me a satisfactory reason for it: but if there be a reason, that same reason, be it what it will, must necessarily make the art of medicine precarious, and imperfect: otherwise the end of the former would be defeated by the latter.

Of all the receipts of deafness, that which you mention, of the roar of cannon upon Blackheath, would be to me the most disagreeable; and whether French or English, I should be pretty indifferent. Armies of all kinds are exceedingly like one another; offensive armies may make defensive ones necessary; but they do not make them less dangerous. Those who can effectually defend, can as surely destroy; and the military spirit is not of the neutral kind, but of a most active nature. The army that defended this country against Charles the First, subdued, in truth conquered it, under Cromwell.

Our measure of distress and disgrace is now not only full, but running over. If we have any public spirit, we must feel our private ills the less by the comparison. I know that, whenever I am called off from my station here, I shall, as Cicero says of the

death of Crœsus, consider it as *mors donata, non vita erepta.* Till when I shall be, with truth,

Your faithful
humble servant,
CHESTERFIELD.

ART. DCCLXXXII. *Observations on Modern Heraldry.*

IN an age in which the customs and prejudices of the feudal institution have for the most part not only ceased to operate, but the very recollection of them is too generally treated with ridicule, it requires, perhaps, some boldness to enter upon the subject of HERALDRY, the most despised of all its inventions.

It cannot be denied, that the greater part of the works upon this, (which its professors are pleased to call,) science, are inexpressibly puerile and pedantic. But when its origin and progress are treated historically, which a few authors have done with no common powers of research, it becomes a topic, on which the imagination at least may be amused, if the understanding be not informed. It connects itself with all the pomp of elder times; with the feats of personal valour, and the generous glories of chivalry.

To value the childish bauble of a painted shield of parchment, the invention of a modern Herald, for the consideration of fifty pounds, —— (my friends in the Heralds College will excuse me; for in that college I trust I have friends, and those the most accomplished, and the most respectable in birth; ta-

lent and character, of the whole society!)—to value such a bauble, would argue a degree of folly or ignorance, which can only be found in the meanest of intellectual beings. But to prize those ensigns, which in the times of feudal strictness were the incidents of power and rank, and the rewards of heroism; under which our ancestors have led their vassals to battle; and which have adorned their castles and their halls during ages of more splendid hospitality; is surely worthy of a cultivated and magnanimous mind! How dastardly should I be to part with the shield handed down to me by my fathers, though its origin should be lost in the obscurity of time, and though the crusade, in which it was first borne, could no longer be particularized!

Such are the circumstances which give an estimation to these, otherwise childish, insignia. All those, which have originated since the cessation of feudal warfare, are objects of contempt: nay even such as have been since granted for great acts of personal bravery, must be deemed insignificant, because they are not connected with the exercise of that heroism. When the Baron led his dependents into the field of war, when, in the days of tilts and tournaments, he sallied forth to personal combat, the distinctive figures on his banner, the charges on his shield, and the crest on his helmet, were the necessary appendages of his rank and employments. But where could the gallant Nelson, though he but shines in glory all the heroes of antiquity, intermingle with the display of his exploits the silly heraldric imitations which the petty ingenuity of a mo-

dern *Garter* could assign to his seal, or his carriage! Or how could the radiant fame of the immortal Sir Sydney Smith, stoop to a pair of supporters, fabricated, for a few paltry fees, by one who cannot be supposed capable of appreciating his heroic merits.

What shall we say then to grants, made by Heralds on no pretence but the money paid for them? Perhaps the greater part of my readers, are not aware that all ancient, and therefore all honourable, arms had their origin prior to the existence of an incorporated body of Heralds. A recorded grant therefore of a coat by the College goes nearly to the destruction of the only ground, on which a coat is worth having. It is true there are a few patents of this kind, of an earlier date than the cessation of chivalry; but they are very few. On this account many ancient arms have never even been registered there; much less emanated from thence. Of these, the only proof can be the usage. And yet there are heralds, who would endeavour to delude the ignorant, by pretending that none can be authentic, which are not recognized by their office.

I should call a coat, which has been invented since the extinction of the feudal system, not the less counterfeit because it possesses the fiat of a regular Herald. It can only be intended by imitative insignia, which to a common eye appear like the genuine, to confound modern families, with those which are really ancient. If this end be not effected, surely it cannot be pretended that any end at all is answered. Does it therefore arise from the arch ingenuity, or rather from the laudable simplicity, of the

present very able and erudite President of the College, that the coats of his rich and charming invention, bear, in point of the nature, or number and complication, of the charges he inserts in them, no more likeness to a shield inscribed with ancient blazonry, than to an Indian scrawl, or Otaheitan breast-plate? He is not content, like his predecessors, with such meagre allusions as Rooks for the name of Rooke, Salmons for the name of Salmon, and Oxen for the name of Oxenden. Had *he* been to deck out a coat for the latter, we should have had a perspective landscape of the *Dens* in which the noble animals were reposing, with the straw, the dung, the manger, and the oil-cakes on which they were growing fat; and lest this should not be sufficient, there would be added a green chief, adorned with a ship in full sail, all on dry land, surmounted by a fox's brush for the banner, and decorated by a dog-kennel on the deck! And when all this was done, there would still be added a copiousness of verbal blazon, which would out-rival the unintelligibility of Christie himself!

About the reign of Hen. VIII. the Heralds were fond of filling the shields of new grantees with many and complex bearings; witness the arms of Paget, Cromwell, Petre, &c. some of which have since been simplified: but still the composites were strictly consistent with the ancient usages of the art. Something, no doubt, may be conceded in favour of these more skilful counterfaits, which have received the sanction of Time, and ornamented the seals and the furniture of many honourable persons, who have slept for generations in the

tomb. But the distinction between the true and the false, will always be made by a curious and severe investigator.

To aid these inquiries, the works of Wyrley, Camden, Spelman, Byshe, Dugdale, Nisbet, Edmondson, and Dallaway, in particular, which treat the subject historically, will afford much valuable information. But a well-digested, and not tedious treatise, which would exhibit a series of the most ancient coats from authentic deeds and monuments, and trace the few remaining families whose shields had their undoubted origin with the Crusades, is still a desideratum which yet, I think, it might not be very difficult to execute. I have a deed in my possession all fairly written on a little slip of parchment, containing a grant of land in the time of Hen. II. by the male ancestor of an honourable Baronet now living, who a little forgot his venerable descent when he condescended to head mobs, and look to the support of a desperate rabble, only fitted for the banner of a Jack Cade; and to this deed is annexed the distinct and handsome seal of his arms, as they have ever since been borne by his progenitors. There are several other families, whose antiquity can be ascertained with equal certainty. But many of these neither are, nor ever have been, in the highest ranks of society; and since the order of knighthood has fallen into disgrace, have not been graced even with the humblest titles.

Singular as it may appear to those who are only superficially acquainted with these investigations, the records of the Heralds will afford very imperfect aid on this subject. Some of these families have

scarcely been recognized, while many of their branches, relying on their known reputation for venerable descent, have laughed at the summonses of Visitors, and saved the fees, which more doubtful gentry were glad to pay for their passport to be admitted amongst respectable ranks.*

* A striking and unanswerable instance of this happened in a branch of the Chandos family, which, as all the particulars have come within the Editor's positive knowledge, he ventures to mention.

A near branch of that family were settled in a village in Gloucestershire, in the time of Char. II. at the very time that a very particular and remarkably able Visitation of that County was made by the celebrated Gregory King. But that Visitation, being referred to, furnished not the slightest notice of these persons. Had the evidence of their existence or of their relationship been weak, this would have been urged as strong negative proof, not only of their actual descent, but even of their gentility. But luckily two tombstones, and a Will, put that fact out of the reach of cavil. A Herald however, well known for his perseverance and industry, impressed with a strong prejudice of the omniscience of his fraternity, yet incapable of contradicting the direct assertions of an epitaph, found himself in a dilemma which called forth all this exertion; and he set himself to work, till, lo! he actually grubbed out from the dusty refuse of the College, the original summons to the person who was then the head of this branch, and resided at the family house, to attend the progress of the Visiting Herald at the neighbouring town on that occasion. The fact of his residence, at this very crisis, on the spot, could then no longer be denied; even though no note of such summons is entered in the Visitation Book; nor the slightest hint that such a branch was in being. The Gentleman therefore must have slighted this call upon him; and the fallacy of trusting to such a sort of negative testimony must be established in every candid mind acquainted with these facts.

Another branch of this family, of great opulence and figure, were seated for two centuries in Somersetshire, during more than one Visitation; yet are never noticed in them.

Yet against a third branch, which had lately emigrated to another

There are indeed many things, which have always required a material reform in the customs of this

county, strong arguments were, in the face of these facts, judicially urged in a solemn Court of Law, because they were not registered in the Visitation of that new county, soon after their emigration.

Nor is this all. The Visitations, which did notice this family, exhibited in the family itself omissions still more extraordinary. The Baronet, for whom the pedigree was drawn, and who gave it the confirmation of his own signature, actually suffered it to stand with the omission of his own two brothers; both whom he proves to have been then surviving, by giving them legacies in his Will of an immediately subsequent date. And even here, incredible as it may seem, arguments of non-existence were founded on other omissions of this nugatory document, which disproved itself.

But I must stop—volumes would scarcely contain all of this nature that this unhappy subject affords. When once the mind is set afloat from the great principles and strict rules of evidence, (the protectors of every thing that is dear to us in civil society, our lives, our properties, our birthrights, our reputations,) what end is there to individual caprice?, to the wanderings of the brain,

——————— in endless mazes lost?

Yet a few more words; for which, as the fact is curious, I may stand excused. On the occasion alluded to, the person who had to make out his case, was called on to dispose of the elder brother of the Gloucestershire Gentleman, whose summons I have related, but of whom nothing was known except his baptism. The junior brother was in possession of the family estate, and it was a little hard to be called on to trace, at the distance of 150 years, every infant to his grave,

——————— that being born did lie
In his sad nurse's arms an hour or two, and die.

Here therefore ingenuity hoped to have placed an insurmountable stumbling block. But by the merest accident a copy of a letter was found in this house by the lady, a stranger in blood, who possessed the estate, stating that the untraced brother died at the age of seventeen at Constantinople, where he had attended an embassy!!!

office; and which would equally redound to the benefit of themselves, though their fear of the contrary has hitherto confirmed their adherence to them. From the time that Hen. VII. broke in upon the strictness of Entails, and the Commons gained an ascendancy in the State, a great number of private families, partly from the harvest of Abbey-lands, which soon followed, and partly from Commerce and Agriculture,* rose into immediate wealth, and became the founders of houses, which have ever since held a rank perhaps next to the Peerage. Some of these, probably, assumed arms to which they had no right; others were incapable, either from the lapse of time, or mere negligence, of producing technical evidence of their title to the coats, which had descended to them from their ancestors, and in truth belonged to them. Such people had no great anxiety to come within the cognizance of the Heralds of those days; and several of them are not therefore to be found in the Visitation Books. But surely, after the lapse of two centuries, they have gained a prescriptive right to their coats, which nothing but ignorance or mercenary prejudice could deny. It is almost too absurd, that while sixty years possession will turn a wrongful into an in-

Such were a few of the strange difficulties which the representative of one of the few families of ancient nobility had to struggle with, in endeavouring to establish his birthright. It is surely not too much to say, that in the eyes of many, who knew the case most intimately, and whose profound knowledge of the laws of evidence none can doubt, he overcame them all! But all was vain!

* At that time several families, which have since led the county of Kent, rose from the rich grazing lands of Romney Marsh. I forbear to particularize, for fear of offence.

defeasible title to an estate of 50,000l. a year, an usage of two hundred years cannot give a right to a coat of arms, of which the original title cannot perhaps be disproved by an atom of evidence.

But according to the wise rules of this body, nothing of this kind, no prescriptive use, even from the time of the Plantagenets, will satisfy them; the idiotic petitioner of their fiat, who goes with a shield, which his grandsires have borne, without dispute, through the reigns of all the Tudors and all the Stuarts, and submitting to their irrational authority, requests its enrolment, will be told that unless he can by evidence, not merely such as would satisfy a Judge and Jury, but such as they in their narrow and self-established rules of testimony choose to call satisfactory, join himself to some family whose property in these arms has been recognized by the College, he must submit, not merely to the costs, but to the disgrace, of a new coat, decked out perhaps by the fertile imagination of Garter himself! And will this sneaking, dastardly driveller then thus abandon all the ensigns of his fathers? Will he forego the simple chevrons, or fesses, or bends, or escallops, or stars, or crescents, which have shone for ages in the richly-coloured Oriel of the venerable Hall; which have marked out the portrait of many a belted Knight, and which have blazoned the massive altar-tomb, under which those from whom he drew his blood, repose; will he forego these, endeared to a cultivated mind by every thing that is interesting in antiquity, for such new-fangled devices, as, independent of their no-

velty, would from the absurdity of their content, be beneath a child of five years old?

In consequence of this conduct, a large portion of those, who form no inconsiderable part of the comparatively-ancient gentry of the kingdom, appear not in the Registers of this Society; while the lowest upstarts, East-Indians, brokers, contractors, and often tradesmen, who have not even a pretension to birth, and possess no ancient coat to be sacrificed, crowd to the office, pay freely for a new device, which in their ignorance they value in proportion as it combines puerilities and incongruities which never before entered into an human brain, and having all their fathers and grandfathers, (if they had any!) raked out from the parish-registers in which alone they were recorded among their brother-blacksmiths and tinkers and publicans, are decorated with a genealogical table as large as one of the amplest pages of the office-books will hold; while at the top of all appears the mighty symbol of their gentility, a shield glittering in the freshest colours of the most skilful painter, and adorned with an enigmatical confusion of charges, which it would require a tedious exercise of the most curious eye and most retentive memory to comprehend. Then it is that children, and uncles, and aunts, and cousins, are carried to view with rapturous astonishment this mighty transformation of the Herald's magic wand! There we read the birth, marriage, and burial of the father, who kept the Chequers Inn at —— Corner; the grandfather, the horse-leech; the great grandfather, the cobler; and the great great grandfather,

the greatest of all, who had been parish-clerk of the place of his abode, during one of King James's Progresses! Yet, what is a little remarkable, not one of these amusing facts appears upon the face of the record. On the contrary, the staring eyes and open mouths of all the clan, who come to behold their new gentility, caught by the splendid blazonry in the upper corner of the leaf, take them for as great and honourable personages as ever bore a shield: yet wonder secretly,

——— With a foolish face of praise,

at the power of the conjurer, which could thus transmute the porter-pot, the cow's horn, the anvil, and the owl, which they remembered in their former days, into bucklers and helmets, and banners!— *Auri sacra fames!* What wilt thou not do?

An apology may be deemed necessary for the freedom of these remarks. Yet surely it can scarce be expected from me to copy, with an abject servility, the grovelling and fearful sentiments of others on this subject. I wish to strip from it its pedantic jargon, its delusions, and its follies, and to set it in a light consistent with the ideas of a rational, a cultivated, and enlarged mind. Nor have I any wish to degrade the College of Arms; for some of whose members I entertain the most sincere respect and good wishes. Indeed with the exception of two or three, I honestly believe that it has seldom been more ably and more honourably filled than at present. My friend Mr. Lodge will forgive me for pointing him out, as a man, not merely of literature, and a very copious knowledge of history, at once

extensive and exact, but of real and unequivocal genius. The Biographical Notes to his "Illustrations of British History" are not merely compilations, like those of most other editors, (which too often betray little more than well-directed labour) but are, without one exception, elegant compositions, which exhibit grace of language, discrimination of character, sagacity and fertility of original remark, and a fund of moral, and interesting, sentiments of the most touching kind. The same character will apply to his very excellent Memoirs annexed to the Holbein Heads by Bartolozzi. A gentleman by birth, educated in the army, and having imbibed all the liberal ideas of his early station, such a man becomes a College, which professes to preserve the decaying institutions of chivalry; from which those of low origin and education, who have nothing to recommend them but their expert clerkship, and their patience in digging among headstones and parish-registers, ought to be excluded! For what can adorn this employment so much as a masterly knowledge of history; where there is not merely a memory to register facts, but a luminous talent to digest, and draw results from them? If such a man submit to indolence, if he suffer coarse, unfeeling, and mercenary, obtrusiveness to step before him, even though it be too frequently the fate of genius, how much will his friends, and even the public, lament it!

> "Step forth; and brush a swarm of fools away,
> Then rise and grasp a more malignant prey!"*

* In the first Edition I had here named with some praise another

The arcana of this art can never be difficult to be acquired, so long as there exist so many treatises on the subject; and a judicious selection among them will save much tedious waste of time and toil. A complete contrast between the nature of ancient and modern grants will be furnished by a comparison of "Camden's Gifts," which are set forth in the 2d Book of Morgan's Sphere of Gentry,* with those of Modern Kings at Arms in the Appendix to Edmondson's Heraldry.

Art. DCCLXXXIII. *Modern Heraldry.*

TO THE EDITOR OF CENSURA LITERARIA.

I HEARTILY agree with you in reprobating that miserable want of judgment in heraldry, which is discovered in most of the arms invented of late years. It was in the reign of Henry the Eighth, when new families began to spring up like mushrooms, that the ancient simplicity of armorial ensigns began to be disregarded by the heralds, and numerous colours and charges were first blended together in the same shield with ingenious intricacy. But it has been reserved for the present *venerable* head of the College of Arms to introduce landscape and seascape into the shields designed to commemorate deeds of valour and heroism; and he has done it with most

member of the College, who has since proved himself utterly unworthy of it, by a more unprovoked instance of malice and treachery than perhaps has often disgraced the human character. This may seem a bold assertion: but the *written proof* in his Clerk's own hand has been exhibited to the assembled Chapter of his own College.

* See Cens. Lit. vol. v. p. 15.

admired success. Indeed few heralds have displayed greater variety of fancy, and a more coquettish temper in armoury, than that gentleman: who (if I am not misinformed) has changed his own coat two or three times, in humble hope, no doubt, of inspiring a similar restlessness of humour in others, and of thereby bringing an additional quantity of grist to his mill.

I also agree with you in reprobating the effrontery, with which the heralds have maintained, and continue to maintain, that no arms are of authority which have not been registered amongst their own archives. If this doctrine were just, the consequence would be that arms of comparatively modern invention, are of better authority than those which a man and his ancestors have borne, from time before the existence of the College of Arms, and for time immemorial, supported by the evidence of ancient seals, funeral monuments, and other authentic documents. Surely this is grossly absurd, and the more absurd if we consider that the heralds seem originally not to have been instituted for the manufacturing of armorial ensigns, but for the recording those ensigns, which had been borne by men of honourable lineage, and which might therefore be borne by their posterity.

Perhaps it would not be too much to presume that it will be found, on inquiry, that there are no grants of arms by the English heralds of any very high antiquity, and that the most ancient which can be produced, either in the original, or in well authenticated copies, are of a date when the general use of seals of arms, circumscribed with the names and titles of the bearers, was wearing away. And it may, I

think, very fairly be asked, by what rule of law or reason a note taken by the heralds, in the sixteenth century, of the arms which a man's ancestor bore in the time of King Edward the First, should be a better title for his descendant to bear those arms, than the ancient seal or monument would be from which such note was taken.

I am told there are instances in which arms have been denied to a family at one visitation of the heralds, and allowed to the same family at a subsequent visitation, without any intermediate grant of arms to such family from the office. This, if true, would decidedly prove that the heralds are not infallible in these matters.

Before I conclude, you will permit me to notice a practice amongst the heralds in the time of James the First, of reciting in the patents of arms that they had searched their office for the arms of the family of A. B. and found that he might lawfully bear *Argent a bend gules*, (or otherwise as the case might be) but there being no crest to the said arms, the said A. B. had requested them to *confirm* the said arms and to grant him a crest, and that therefore, and for other causes therein specified, they *granted* and confirmed to the said A. B. such arms and crest. This practice was, in some instances, highly reprehensible, because such recitals were made in cases where the heralds had not found the arms, which were so confirmed, amongst the records of their office prior to such confirmation; and because such confirmations, not grounded on prior evidence, were, in fact, original grants.

July 26, 1806. S. E.

ART. DCCLXXXIV. *Otium divos, &c. Hor. Lib. II. Od. 16. Imitated.*

TO LAURA.

1.

" FOR ease the wand'ring Sailor prays,
Who o'er the wide Ægean strays,
When clouds obscure the pensive moon,
And shut the day-light out too soon.

2.

In hopes of ease the Thracians glow,
And toils unnumber'd undergo;
Ease, dearest Laura, always sought,
But ne'er by gold or jewels bought.

3.

Not all the power of envied Pitt,
Purple nor treasures, can remit
The tumults of the wretched mind,
And cares not ev'n to riches kind.

4.

Happy the man, whose frugal board
Is with paternal pewter stor'd:
His gentle slumbers ne'er shall hear
Or sordid Lust, or starting Fear.

5.

Why do we leave fair England's soil,
O'er burning India's sands to toil?
No change of clime can change the mind;
Himself the wand'rer still must find.

6.

Care climbs the lofty vessel's sides,
And with us o'er the ocean glides;
The agile horseman sits behind,
Swifter than lightning or the wind.

7.

The mind which present prospects please,
The hated future ne'er foresees,
Tempers with smiles the low'ring day,
For none are blest in ev'ry way.

8.

Monthermer died in youthful bloom,
But age fill'd hoary Mansfield's tomb;
And I perhaps by fate may gain,
What matchless Laura seeks in vain.

9.

Round thee the laughing Graces play,
The Muses, conquer'd, own thy sway,
And all the sweets of Love combine
To bless thy bed with joys divine.

10.

For me, by Fortune's pow'r opprest,
While others pant for ease and rest,
Be this my anxious wish alone
To call thy faithful heart my own." P. M.

Art. DCCLXXXV. *Literary Antiquities.*

EXPLANATION OF AN ANCIENT MEDAL.

TO THE EDITOR OF CENSURA LITERARIA.

Sir,

I have often wondered, why a work of a superior kind to the common monthly publications has never subsisted in this country: whether it be from a want of purchasers or of sufficient materials, I am ignorant; but being desirous to contribute in both cases to the continuance of yours, I have committed to paper some thoughts which lately occurred to

me in reading relative to an unexplained medal of Mark Antony and Cleopatra, a type of which is given in the fifth tom. of the *Histoire de l'Academie* of the 12mo. edition, at p. 256; having on the obverse the head of M. Antony, with this legend, M. ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΟΙΩΝΙΣΤΗΣ ΤΡΙΩΝ ΑΝΔΡΩΝ, and on the reverse the head of Cleopatra with this legend, ΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΑΣ ΟΣΣΑΝ ΣΩΤΗΡΑΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ. The authors of that article, in 1731, M. Bonhier and De Boze, seem to be quite at a loss for the meaning of ΟΣΣΑΝ on the reverse; and by their account it should seem, that no satisfactory explanation had been given of it by any former antiquaries, although it had been published by Goltzius, Tristan, Occo, Nonnius, Spanheim, and Vaillant; for Bonhier says, "that certainly it is not easy to explain;" and De Boze adds, "that every thing which has been urged to justify the epithet Οσσαν has so little foundation, that it can be only ascribed to an error in the artist." They contend indeed further, that there is a doubt of its being genuine, or else if it be genuine, whether it has been rightly read: but against both these suppositions they themselves urge, that Occo has published a second medal likewise, with a similar legend, except that Βασιλισσα occurs at the beginning of it instead of the end, and is in the nominative, not the genitive case. I shall not enter further into their account, nor do I know whether any later writers have given any more satisfactory explanation of the legends on this medal, or attempted it; therefore shall confine myself to my

own opinion concerning it. It seems then to me to have been struck in some city of Persia, or some city in Asia, where an oriental language was chiefly in use, and but little knowledge of Greek; apparently soon after Anthony's expedition against Parthia, in which Cleopatra accompanied him part of the way; for ΟΣΣΑΝ, or as it may be better divided, Ὁ. Σ. ΣΑΝ, seems to be an abbreviation of the common Persian title *Schah-Schahin, the king of kings;* which although here applied to a female, yet as it is the title of males, therefore the masculine article ὁ has been prefixed to it, as the rest of the legend is in Greek: that Greek was not perfectly understood where it was struck seems confirmed by the word σωτηρα, which should rather be σωτειρα; and so Bonhier says, that Scaliger has writ the legend in his notes on Eusebius; another similar erroneous use of a vowel occurs, I conceive, on the obverse. As to *Schah-Schahin*, Hyde, I believe, was the first author who has explained it, where it occurs in Manellinus 19. 2. "Amici Saporem appellabant *Achæmenem:* vera autem lectio in ultima editione jam restituta est Σααν Σααν, nempe Schahan Schah est *regum-rex.*" *Rel. Pers.* p. 416. This was thirty years before the above-mentioned dissertation. By this it appears, that even the Romans were no strangers to the title. Reland also, in 1706, had observed "*H* in pronuntiatione Persarum vix auditur ut in *Saan saa* pro Schahan Schah." *Diss. de ling. Pers.* p. 227. Beyer, in his *Histor. Bactr.* says "ΣΑ in nummo Phraartis meo judicio neque urbem neque monita-

rium significat sed ΣΑΝΣΑ: similiter in nummo Pharnacis Βασιλεως μεγαλου Φαρναχου ΣΣΑΝ, malo legere ΣΑΝΣΑΝ quam cum Patino ΟΣΣΑΝ vel cum Spanheimo *refingere* Βασιλεως Βασιλεων, *in tom.* 1. 487 *de usu Numism.*" *p.* 102. By this it appears that the word occurs also on a Parthian coin, where Bayer has given us its true meaning. While by the word *refingere* Spanheim seems to have thought ΟΣΣΑΝ an erroneous reading by Patin for Βασιλεων. I am not able to refer to the very words of Spanheim, but here we find both the right reading and meaning of the title, with the article ὁ in like manner prefixed, clearly ascertained by Patin and Bayer, which seem to have perplexed all the other antiquaries. Bayer adds, in p. 105, that Plutarch mentions Anthony's giving to Cleopatra and her sons, after the conquest of Parthia, the title of Βασιλεις Βασιλεων, *in Antonio;* moreover that in Vaillant another coin has the legend *Cleopatræ reginæ regum.* Bayer does not however appear to have known of the medal in question with the oriental title ΟΣΣΑΝ applied to Cleopatra, otherwise he would not have thought that Patin had read the word erroneously with an ὁ prefixed on the Parthian coin; which however proves, that it was no unusual thing to abbreviate the title in this manner, even among Orientals themselves, although the examples of it may now be scarce. The Greek *a* had the sound if not of *aw* yet at least of *ar;* and Reland has accounted for the omission of the aspirates when expressed in Greek letters, since they were but little heard even in Persian itself. This abbre-

viation may account likewise for what we read in Hesychius, who says, that Ζαν means Ζευσ, and Ζανιδες means ἡγεμονιδες. Here an annotator on Hesychius conjectures, that it is formed from Ζαων, Ζην, Ζαγ; but the sense of ἡγεμονιδες leads us to a better derivation; for what connexion in sense is there between *vivens* and *Jupiter?* but *gubernator* has a near connexion with the *God of gods;* the name was therefore rather an imitation of the foreign word *Zaan.* That it had been naturalized as well as understood in some Greek cities is further confirmed by Pausanias: for he says, that at Elis "Sunt aliquot ænea Jovis simulachra; appellantur ea *patria voce* Zanes." Lib. 5. Now if the name had been formed from ζαων so universal among the Greeks, it would have scarcely been so peculiar to the natives of Elis as to deserve being stigmatized as a provincial word in that city *(patria voce);* it was therefore rather the oriental word *Zaan,* which had by accident been naturalized there, though not universally in Greece. Neither is there any thing extraordinary in the oriental word *Schahan Schah* being thus abbreviated and disguised when pronounced or written in Greek letters, if we attend to similar adulterations of oriental words in modern languages, and even relative to the word in question. Thus Bayer says, in the same page above, "Persarum reges dicti sunt, sicut nunc *Pádi-Schah,* ab Indis *Pad scha,* ita olim *Schahin Schah.*" This, I presume, is the same name which the English now give to the chief minister of the Marattas in India, and generally spelt *Peshwa,* while

the French write it *Pecheva*: the origin also apparently of the Turkish word *Pacha* and, *Bashaw* thus otherwise distinguished by foreigners, seems to be the same.

As to the legend on the obverse of the medal in question, the French dissertation says nothing of its explication, nor have I myself any opportunity to consult concerning it the other antiquaries, above mentioned, who published the medal; but there must evidently be some difficulty concerning the word or words ΟΙΩΝΙΣΤΗΣ, &c. Now as the horizontal line on the top of the third letter of ΑΥΙΟ-ΚΡΑΤΩΡ is worn out so that T is changed into I, I suppose that the case has been the same with the second letter above, which should be a T; and thus those letters form ὁ των ιστης τριων ανδρων, which I presume mean, that Anthony was *the staff of the triumvirate*, the artist having writ ιστης for ιστος, just as on the reverse we found an η formed instead of ει, which becomes another proof of a foreign artist. Ιστος means a *mast* of a ship, also a *distaff*, or the rod on which wool or hemp is hung, in order for the spinner to draw out threads from it, *stamina*; it therefore naturally coincides in sense here with our own use of the word *staff* in such a case. Any further information from others on these subjects would be very acceptable, as books are so numerous and so expensive that few can obtain them.

S.

ART. DCCLXXXVI. *Origin of the name of Mount Caucasus.*

IN the sixth vol. of *Researches by the Asiatic Society*, Mr. Wilford has inserted a dissertation on the origin of the name of mount Caucasus: he says "The real name should be *Casas*, or *Cas;* for in Persian *Coh* or *Cau* signifies a mountain. Now if we should translate *Coh-Cas* into the Sanscrit tongue, it would be *Casgiri;* and actually the true name of this mountain in Sanscrit is *C'hasa-giri*, that is, the mountain of the *Chasas*, a most antient and powerful tribe, who inhabited this immense range of mountains, extending even from the eastern limits of India not only to Persia, but probably as far as to the Euxine sea. They are often mentioned in the sacred books of the Hindus; and their descendants still inhabit the same mountainous regions, and are called to this day *C'hasas* and in some places *Cossais*. The Greeks also mention the mountains of Persia as inhabited by *Cossæi*, *Cusseæi*, and *Cissii:* the *Caspian* sea also, and its adjacent mount *Caucasus*, were probably denominated for them. In the language of the Calmuc Tartars, *C'hasu* signifies snow. This name of *C'hasa-giri* is now confined to a few spots, and that immense range is constantly called in Sanscrit, *Himachel*, i. e. snowy mountain, and *Himalaya*, the abode of Snow; whence the Greeks formed their name of one part of that range *Imaus*." Etymology is little better than the art of conjecturing; happily, however, it has some use; for while it amuses some, it contributes to preserve relics of antiquity, which might otherwise be altogether lost.

Now as Mr. Wilford conceives *Caucasus* to be a compound of two words, I do not dispute but he may be right with respect to the origin of the last half of it; yet as I do not conceive the sacred books of the Hindus to be so antient as he may suppose, and as the name of Asia, for that part of the globe is certainly antient, it seems possible, that *C'hasas* might mean only *Asiatics*, and that the Hindus gave that name of *C'hasas* to all Scythians, and other western Asiatic tribes, who possessed themselves at different times of different mountainous tracts on the north of India: for that the Hindus considered themselves as included within that district called by the Greeks *Asia* does not appear. But certainly we never heard of *this ancient and powerful tribe* before; and whether they gave name to *Asia* or Asia to them is a matter of doubt; or whether both were derived from *C'hasu*, snow, or from any other source, such as Bochart has given.

What I most doubt of, therefore, is the origin of the first half of Caucasus. It is indeed true that *Coh* does in Persian mean a mountain, which is sometimes mollified into *Cuh*: thus Gotius thinks, that *Kuhi-stan*, a part of Persia, is not derived from a colony of Arabs or *Chusites* settling there on the east side of the Euphrates, but "a communi montium nomine *Kuhi et stan regio*," p. 195 *not. in alfergan*; it being a mountainous province. Now as the name of Caucasus was confined to that portion of the mountainous range between the Euxine and Caspian sea, while the more eastern portions were called *Imaus mons*, or *Riphæi*, and by other names, one may rather presume that the name in question

arose from some circumstance peculiar to that mountainous portion, rather than from such a general word *coh*, as equally well suited any other mountain or portion of that enormous range. I apprehend, then, that the *C* formed one part of the first half of Caucasus, *i. e. Cauc-asus*, or else was doubled, as *Cauc-casus;* and that Bayer has unintentionally pointed out both the property itself and the original name of it, out of which the Greeks formed the word *Cauc*, as the name of the mountain. In the acts of the Academy at Petersburgh, Bayer inserted a tract *de Scythiæ situ*, in which he has these words, "Herodotus ad occidentem Caspii maris Caucasum collocat, ad orientem vero *immensam planitiem:* hæc planities *celebratissima* est apud Arabes Persasque scriptores nomine *Kaphgjak* et *Dascht* quod *planitiem* significat." Now as *quod* refers to *nomen*, I presume that the first word means *planities* as well as the second; but whether Kaphg-ia be a single word, or two, may admit of some doubt; however, either way it may be the origin of the Greek *Kauc*, and also of the Hebrew name *Gog*. But it is not merely on the east side of the Caspian sea, that an immense plain is extended of a desert nature, for that sea is quite surrounded by immense plains, except on the south side by a range of hills dividing those desert plains from the inhabited parts of Asia. A vast extent of plains also surrounds Astracan on the north of that sea, called the *Step*, and the same on the west of it, called the desert of Astracan; the whole frequented only by roving hordes of Scythians, formerly and now Tartars, who occasionally depasture on any fertile parts of it. This western desert

extends quite to the sea of Asof, or Palus Mæotis, and ranges along the whole sides of mount Caucasus on the north close to the foot of it. We can little doubt, then, but this western plain had obtained the same name *Kaphgjak* as the eastern one. Bayer doubtless has tried to express the Tartarian and Persian pronunciation of this word as nearly as he could in Roman letters; but it is well known that in those languages there are indistinct sounds of a guttural and aspirated kind, which no Roman letters can perfectly express: and this possibly is the cause of that assemblage of consonants *phgj* in the middle, the full pronunciation of which the Greeks would be scarcely bold enough to attempt, or able to do it with safety to their teeth; they would therefore naturally soften it into *Kauc*, just as they softened other oriental aspirates into *s*, *z*, or *x*. What the Jews also might pronounce with *G* hard, as in *Gog*, the Greeks might soften into *Kauc*. Thus Bayer may have given us the original word, which has been thus corrupted in both cases, together with the true meaning of it. And it may have been these immense, and as Bayer says *celebrated*, plains, to which this mountain was contiguous, that was the distinguishing property, which gave rise to the name of this portion of the long range of mountains running from west to east, and to the inhabitants of it, as well as to the mountain itself: for, although the *plains* were little habitable, yet the vallies at the foot of the mountain on both sides were very fertile, and full of the same race of men, who occasionally roved over those plains on the north side of it. Stephanus, an ancient Greek author, expressly says,

that the inhabited district on the south side was called *Gogarena*. "Gogarena est locus inter Colchos et Iberos orientales." Iberia was on the south side, and Colchis at the western extremity, of the mountain; this name then included the whole southern side of it, and sufficiently proves, that it was called *Gog* by some nations as well as *Kauc* by others, and both of them apparently so called from the contiguous *plains*: the usual word for which is still *Kaphgjak*, among the natives, unless it be two words *Kaphg-iak*, and meant to express that part of the desert plain only which was contiguous to the *iak*, i. e. the river *Jaikartes* on the east side of the Caspian sea: in which case *Kaphg* would be the original still, and mean *the plains* themselves, by others corrupted into *Gog* and *Kauc*. We know that at first the Romans had no distinct letter for *G* different from *C*, so much were those letters confounded in writing as well as pronunciation. Bayer therefore has here, without any intention, confirmed the opinion of Bochart long ago, that *Gog* and *Kauc* were the same word: Bochart adds, indeed, that *Cauc-asus* came from *Kauc-hasan*, for *hasan* in some oriental dialects means *a fortress, munimentum*; not intending thereby any artificial fortress on that mountain, but that it was the natural *bulwark* between the inhabited south part of Asia, and those desert plains on the north of it. But whether this derivation be preferable to the *C'hasas* of Mr. Wilford, as giving origin to the last half of the name, I cannot determine. This only I may mention, that the names of nations were probably prior to the names of aggregate countries, so that *C'hasas* rather

gave name to Asia than contrariwise: and we know, that a nation of the name of *Asch* did exist in antient times, the inhabitants of Asia Minor being probably those called *Aschenaz* in scripture. In Celtic *Innis* means an island, and is applied to a peninsula as well as island; if we could suppose the original inhabitants of Asia Minor to have been Celts, *Aschenez* might mean the nation dwelling in that peninsula; and Bochart has even given a reason, either true or not, why they were called *Asch* or *As*, and from which he derives the name *Asia;* but this etymology would not suit so well with Mr. Wilford's *C'hatas*, who lived on the north of Persia and India. There is something however so venerable in antiquity, that a peep into it is attended with pleasure of an awful kind, like the view of old weather-beaten oaks; and when such immense destruction has been made of ancient books, it is sometimes even useful to bring together the scattered relics of antiquated words, in order to understand those books of ancient times, which have fortunately escaped from the general ruin caused by ignorance. We know likewise that even some of the Gothic nations, who inundated the north, and came from the banks of the Euxine sea, brought with them the memory of having formerly lived near a town called *As-gard*;, and they also gave the name of *Asæ* to their gods, who were probably some deified heroes among their ancestors, formerly resident near the sea of *Asoff*. Thus profane accounts give some aid to scriptural ones, and the thought of the immensity of time past has this further utility, of turning our minds to the thought of future eternity. Immensity of time is

indeed so vast an object as necessarily to excite our wonder and astonishment; but when we thus find, that the ancient residence of *Gog* in scripture can be traced to mount Caucasus, and that the name of scriptural *Aschenaz* has too much resemblance to *Axenos*, the ancient name of the Euxine sea, to be the effect of accident, we become not only more sensible of the mutability of all human things, but even impressed with a more ready belief of the future things, which scripture points out to us, after having found its accounts so well verified concerning distant events past, as to render it a supplement to the lost history of mankind in past ages, beyond all other records of time. S.

Since my former testimony from Bayer, concerning the probable origin of the name *Caucasus*, I have met with a remarkable confirmation of it in *a Memoir concerning the Nations inhabiting Mount Caucasus*, published by Edwards, in 1788, and extracted out of various books of travels, by Russians into Tartary, viz. Guldenstadt, Klingstadt, Gaerber, and Strahlenburg. Now, at p. 31, are these words, "The flat countries, near the Volga, were *always* called by the Tartars *Capchak*, which Strahlenburg supposes to have been corrupted into *Casak*." Whether Strahlenburg has or not given us a better derivation of *Casak*, than Mr. Wilford from *Ch'asas*, yet it is evident that the name here of *Capchak*, for the *plains* which surround the Caspian sea, is the very same which Bayer expressed by *Kaphgjak*, his *phgj* being changed into the guttural aspirate *ch*;

and the author here assures us, that it is no name newly imposed, but has *always* been the same. We know also, that the natives of barbarous countries commonly preserve the ancient names of places with more tenacity than civilized nations: hence in Syria, and other parts of Asia, notwithstanding the new names imposed by the Greeks, Romans, and Arabs, many of the most ancient names are still current among the natives, in the neighbourhood of them. It appears also, from the above sentence, that the name in Bayer is not a compound of two words, as I before suspected to be possible; and how the Greeks could pronounce it otherwise than by *Kauc*, I cannot conceive, unless they had preferred the *Gog* of the Jews: we are indebted then much to Bayer, for having first brought this native name for those *plains* to light, and to the knowledge of Europeans; the meaning of which, even Bochart did not venture to guess at, although he was plainly got into the right road; neither has the author of this *memoir* noticed that additional information by Bayer, that the word of itself signifies *a great plain*. We cannot wonder, that it should be so corrupted by the Greeks as to become scarcely cognizable, if we consider, that the very same has been done by the Persians, Arabians, and Turks, who pronounce *Gog* and *Magog* as if written *Jagiouge* and *Majouge*, as we are informed by Herbelot; the distinction between which may possibly have been, that *Gog* denoted the people who inhabited the *plains* and vallies contiguous to Mount Caucasus, and *Magog* the mountain itself; for *Ma* and *Maha*, we find to have always among Orientals included the

idea of *great* or *high*, as they still do among the Hindoos. It is observable, that the author of the above *memoir* no where informs us, by what name the mountain Caucasus is denoted at present, by its inhabitants, and only gives us the names of the different nations, who dwell in the vallies and plains which surround it; who speak a great variety of languages, many of which have no resemblance to one another; and in a dozen of these the author gives us vocabularies of the names of the most common objects; but unfortunately has totally omitted the names for *plain*. *Coh*, however, never occurs there, as the name for a mountain; and it is remarkable, that in all those languages there is not the least similitude to the Scythian, that is, to the common parent of the Gothic, Saxon, German, and Belgic tongues; neither does *Ch' asu* occur as the name for *Snow*; but in the dialect of the *Oseti*, a mountain is named *Khokk*, and among the *Tchetchens* it means a *foot*, and also a *hand*, so that nothing can be concluded from it. In fact the present inhabitants of Caucasus seem to be new tribes from the east, who have settled there, and their languages are so totally different among themselves, that they must have come from distant and different parts. It is, therefore, only from the Tartars, on the northward of them, that any information concerning the word *Kaphgjak*, in Bayer, can be collected; it seems, however, already to be sufficiently confirmed, that it is the ancient name given to the immense desert *plains*, adjacent to the Caspian sea, and equally so to those on the west, as the east of that seat. Guldenstadt seems even to have found some traces there

still, of the name *Kauc;* for, being permitted to make extracts from a manuscript chronicle in the *Georgian* tongue, preserved in the Christian monastery, near *Tiflis*, among the names of other neighbouring nations, he found that of "Kaucas, inhabiting Kaucasranta," which he supposes to mean *Caucasians*, p. 53.

As to the latter half of the name of *Cauc-asus*, I may now add as a farther proof, that the name of Asia was probably derived from the name of some nation, of a nearly similar name, dwelling near the Euxine sea: that Strabo mentions a considerable wandering nation of that name, "Ex Nomadibus *maxime* innotuerunt Asii, Pasiani," &c. *lib.* II. We find also other traces of the scriptural name *Ashenez*, in *Ascania*, the name of a river in Phrygia, and in the name of *Ascanius*, given to persons, which, together with those enumerated by me before, may be all relics of that nation, which first gave name to Asia, and which must have been very ancient, as Herodotus says, that he could give no account why that country was called *Asia*. Now it appears also, by Herodotus, that the country north of the Euxine sea, even as far east as beyond the *Volga*, was anciently inhabited by Celts, under the name of Cimmerians; which is confirmed by the name of *Cimmerian Bosphorus*, afterwards given to the mouth of the Palus Mæotis: if then those *Asii* dwelt near the Caucasus, or even on the south side of the Euxine, in Asia Minor, it would be natural for the Celts, on the north side, to give the name of *Asia* to those districts to the south of their own habitations, occupied by that nation of Asii; for many names of

aggregate countries have been thus formed from the names of those people dwelling in them, who were first or best known to some foreign and neighbouring nation; just as we now give the single name of *India* to a vast extent of different countries, because the name of the single nation of Hindoos was first or best made known to European nations by means of Alexander and others, and was also nearer to Europe, than the more distant country of China. The latter half of *Cauc-asus* may therefore be another relic of the name of the same nation, from which Asia was derived, of which *Ch' asus* may be another relic.

I cannot omit mentioning, that in the language of the *Tchetchens*, the name for *a spirit* is *Esey*, *Ssay*, which has some resemblance to the *Asœ* of the Gothic ancestors of our northern parts, who gave formerly this name to their *divine beings*, which might have been *the spirits* of some heroic ancestors. But this is the only word which has the most distant resemblance to any, in any of the Gothic languages.

I cannot but observe also, that it seems rather extraordinary, why the editor of the new edition of *Wells's Geography*, should have inserted so many of Mr. Wilford's Hindu reveries, on this and other subjects, by way of addition to that work. *Wells* himself has too many manifestly erroneous opinions, which ought rather to have been corrected, than additions made to them out of Mr. Wilford's meditations; while no notice whatever is taken of the *Spicilegium Geographiæ Sacræ*, by Michaelis, nor of the opinions of any of the later and best critics concern-

ing sacred geography; neither are the positions advanced by the editor himself, as his own, supported by sufficient evidence from facts or arguments; so that, between them all, readers of the Jewish scriptures will be rather involved more and more in a wilderness, than find a *companion to the Bible*, on whom they can depend. A judicious and abbreviated collection from all the latest and best writers, would have been a useful work in the English language, instead of this vast warehouse of ill-sorted goods. S.

ART. DCCLXXXVII. *On the fanciful additions to the new Edition of Wells's Geography of the Old Testament.*

TO THE EDITOR OF CENSURA LITERARIA.

SIR,

AFTER having given one example in regard to Caucasus, Gog, and Magog, of the little recommendation, which Mr. Wilford's meditations, deduced from Sanscrit books, are likely to afford to the *excursions* subjoined to the new edition of *Wells's Geography of the Old Testament*, I just mentioned, that in like manner those antiquarian meditations of the Editor himself seem to be nothing better supported, either from the facts or arguments adduced in their favour. Let us, however, now examine, in some few instances, the evidence contained in them, and what assistance they are able to afford to a student of the Jewish scriptures towards the illustration of any parts of them, that we may judge whether the

imaginations there presented to the public be fit *companions to the Bible*, containing many serious truths.

Now the Editor supposes, agreeably to some Eastern traditions, that the ark of Noah rested on Mount Ararat, and that this was some part or other of the long range of mountains called Caucasus or Taurus; so that mankind issued from that district both east and west to occupy other more distant settlements; and also that the several devices and symbols, which various cities afterwards impressed on the coins, were intended as memorials of their descent from the neighbourhood of those mountains; particularly, that where a *bull* is found on a coin, it was commemorative of the colony having been brought from the neighbourhood of Mount *Taurus* in Cilicia, as is thus expressed in his own words: "From the annexed plates, the reader will have observed, that our drift is, to prove that the western cities and countries were peopled from the eastern parts of Caucasus; that they preserved memorials of their origin by emblems, and that these emblems, *which have hitherto been contemned as mere caprices*, are, when properly understood, of great use in the study of ancient geography, by which only they can be satisfactorily explained. As we conceive, that the scripture expressly affirms the same migrations of mankind from Caucasus, we consider our discoveries as corroborating the geographical accounts of scripture; but these *memoranda* were *afterwards* perverted from their true intention to idolatrous commemorations. We therefore, for the present, content ourselves with establishing our general principle." *Excursions, p.* 22: "The plate

4 shews principally that portion of Caucasus, which is distinguished as Mount Taurus," *p.* 20.

Here the writer has not done justice to former antiquaries in saying, that the devices and symbols found on coins *have been hitherto contemned as mere caprices;* for they have always been considered as significative symbols of the cities, where the coins were struck; but why such symbols were adopted in such cities, and to what facts or circumstances in the history of those cities they referred, this, indeed, in many cases it has not been possible to discover, although it has, however, been done in several with success: it will therefore be well, if this writer can let in farther light on those symbols, which I am afraid he will not do, by referring those exhibiting a *Bull* as being commemorative of the descent of the inhabitants from Mount Taurus. The subject is at least harmless, and this is perhaps the most which can be said in its favour; whether his principle be true or not we do not inquire, but only whether the writer has adduced such facts and arguments as will tend to render it probable and plausible. Let us see then what he says. "The figure 18 represents the sun rising behind the back of a bull, Taurus, which bull is of the breed common in India, having a lump between the shoulders: it is taken from Hyde's *Relig. Pers.* In another plate may be seen the sun rising behind a lion, but in this behind a bull; the import of this emblem clearly implies the *western* situation of those who, when they made this observation, intended it as the prime point of their compass, having no better method to ascertain their *bearing*," *p.* 22. But if we turn to

Hyde's own account, we shall find, that *this emblem does not so clearly imply* what is here affirmed, nor, indeed, that it has the least relation whatever to it, for it is a representation of the sun in the celestial constellation of Taurus, and not of any terrestrial mountain called Taurus, or the situation of any city either to the eastward or westward of it. Take Hyde's own words, "Cum Sol est in Tauro omnia florent—ut Virgilius, *Candidus auratis aperit cum cornibus annum Taurus;* tunc scilicet (ut monet Macrobius) *Tauro gestante Solem:* sic nempe pinguntur Signa, adeo ut in hoc iconismo exhibeatur *Sol in signo Tauri* Persarum more designatus. Sic etiam in nummis *Magni Mogul* Indiæ imperat; exhibetur *Corpus Solare* super dorso *Tauri* aut *Leonis*, qui illud eodem modo gestat," *p.* 115. What could induce the writer to omit this explication of Hyde, and to substitute his own erroneous one in its place? And, again, instead of the Sun, when represented in connection with a *Lion*, having any reference to "Mount Lion, or Mount Taurus, as parts of Caucasus," as he asserts at p. 19, N°. 3, we see that Hyde more rationally explains such representations as expressing the Sun in the constellation *Leo*. To the same object, doubtless, the coin of Berytus refers at p. 19, N°. 13, and, again, in plate 3, N°. 14, and possibly in other examples, which we have no foundation for considering as *mere caprices*, although we are not able to comprehend the meaning of all the symbols represented on different ancient coins.

Hitherto we have found no confirmation of the writer's proposed principle, but only a distortion of celestial objects to a pretended representation of

terrestrial ones; in the following example we shall find a similar distortion of one terrestrial object to another. In plate 4, N°. 5, at p. 20, the writer sees in the impression of a seal published by Niebuhr *a bull's body and legs,* which to those who employ such spectacles as do not distort objects, will appear to be more like a lion, a bear, or an elephant, than a bull; yet in reality, not intended to represent any one of them, but an imaginary animal with which the Persians were as well acquainted as Europeans with the fanciful representation of an *unicorn.* Certainly Niebuhr did not think it represented a bull, for he calls it a *fabulous animal,* as the view of it in his *Tab.* 20, proves it to be. His account of it is thus—"In the ruins of Persepolis, on two parallel walls, is seen on each in relief the fabulous animal B of my tab. 20, being 17 feet from head to tail—I obtained also an agate stone, the impression on which, represents, as there is no doubt, the very same animal as the above-mentioned larger one, only the work of the engraver of the stone is not so good as that of the sculptor." *Tom.* 2. *p.* 102. Now what can candid readers think of an author, who could transform this anomalous animal into a bull? A view of it may be seen at the page and plate referred to above, as taken from the plate of Niebuhr, in which same plate Niebuhr gives us also the larger and more perfect representation of it from the walls of Persepolis, having the face of a man with a beard of feathers, and a cap like a bushel on its head, with feathers upon its shoulders, rising up high over the back as if they were wings, the body

and long tail like a dog, the feet with hoofs as in a horse, but not cloven like a bull; and yet the author could find in this heterogeneous animal *a bull's body and legs*, which, even in his own plate, appear more like the body and legs of an elephant. What will not the love of imaginary system make us believe? This figure, found represented in Persia, the author nevertheless considers as *a varied emblem* of Mount Caucasus in Asia Minor, as his own words thus testify. "N°. 5. As we have seen Caucasus alluded to under three distinctions [*a lion, a bull, and an eagle,*] we shall not be surprised to find such allusion varied into other emblems. This number and figure shews *the bull's body and legs*, the eagle's wings and human head compounded into one emblem; on one side of it is the sun, on the other side the moon. It is the impression of an ancient agate seal brought from Persia by Niebuhr." *Excur. p.* 20. It is true that the impression on the seal, yet not the larger figure on the walls, has a sun on one side and the moon on the other; but by what secret marks the author can discover any connexion between this compound figure and a mountain I cannot comprehend. Jupiter, with his thunder and lightning, was conceived by the ancients to have been particularly attached to mountains, as the *Deus loci;* but that the sun and moon were ever supposed to take up their residence there I never apprehended before I read the above explication of the seal; and certainly the whole contains such faithful quotations and such accuracy in finding out resemblances, as cannot fail

to be instructive to students of sacred geography, who wish to discover the mountain on which Noah's ark rested.

However the author judged right in accumulating more proofs to the same purport. Thus at the same p. 20, in some medals of *Perinthus*, a city of Greece, he finds a bull with a lump on its back, a common breed in India, "to typify Mount Taurus in Asia Minor, on which the ark rested;" and he adds very gravely and truly, "that the bull cannot be the person in the ark [Noah] neither can it be the ark itself." *Plate 4. No. 1. and 2.* These are such ingenious discoveries, that I will endeavour to collect some more of them in order to gratify such readers as might otherwise doubt, whether new books in Roman characters excel the old black-letter authors.

When new principles and opinions are started relative to the illustration of the Jewish scriptures, and are proposed as certain truths, although in reality they are not only very uncertain, but even apparently chimerical and erroneous, it is then highly expedient, that their unsolid foundations should be pointed out to the public; otherwise their specious appearance may induce many persons to adopt them as true, and the censures due to them may attach, in some degree, even to those scriptures themselves, which are the subject of such chimerical disquisitions. Although then I respect all writers, who propose to instruct mankind, yet the interests of religious truths ought ever to supersede the deference due to those who may mean well, but whose zeal is not according to knowledge. I shall there-

fore proceed to collect some further proofs of the erroneous nature of those principles on which the editor of Wells's Geography depends, or at least of the insufficient evidence by which they are attempted to be supported.

Now the type of a coin in his plate 4, fig. 21, exhibits a whole *Bull* accumbent, having an embroidered vestment thrown over his body, and a pot of incense smoking under his nose, with a sun over his head: the editor does not inform us whence this type is taken, or of what city it may have been the symbol, if of any; but he thus explains it at N°. 21 of p. 22. This is "the *Zor Aster*, or sacred bull of Egypt at large, expressly shewing the sun on the head of Taurus; who reclines on the top of a mountain; before him is a pot of perfumes smoking: and he is clad in an embroidered robe, enriched with an *octagon* ornament (in its middle)." Now I am so unfortunate as not to know what he means in calling this representation of a bull, the *Zor-Aster*. Did he mean to refer to the sense, which Scaliger somewhere gives to the name of the Persian philosopher *Zoroaster*, as implying *vivens sydus?* If so, one should suppose, that he considered this bull to be a symbol of the celestial constellation *Taurus*. But, in such case, what connection has it with *the sacred bull of Egypt*, which was no symbol of any celestial constellation, but was only reverenced as a memorial of the utility of oxen in the terrestrial labours of the field, under the names of *Apis* or *Mnevis*, as Diodorus thus informs us—"Tauri sacri, tum qui Apis, tum qui Mnevis vocatur, ut Osiridi dicati sunt, pro diis coluntur—hoc enim animantium genus max-

me omnium frumenti inventoribus ad sementem faciendum et utilitates agriculturæ operam commodarat." *Ib.* 1. Could one and the same symbol be intended thus to serve the double purpose of representing both a constellation in the heavens and also the laborious terrestrial bull in Egypt? And what have either of them to do with the *top of a mountain*, Mount Taurus, I suppose? Is it meant to be insinuated, that the Egyptians, by their adoration of a sacred bull, manifested their descent from Mount Taurus? If not, what was meant to be proved in this article? This new science of *bullism* seems to be here in confusion. As to myself, however, I have no doubt of the type here represented being only a variation of that mentioned before from *Hyde*, and intended to express the constellation Taurus, as the sun over the head of the bull testifies; without having the least reference either to the sacred bull of Egypt or to Mount Taurus. The Egyptian Apis was, in fact, always represented in a different form, with large curved horns, and not such short horns as in the present type: the editor himself has given a true figure of the Apis at fig. 20, in pl. 4, from the *Isiac table*. In the present type the pot of incense smoking is a mark of the deification of this animal, that being an essential article of divine worship, and the embroidered robe over him is another mark; it having been common with the ancients to throw rich robes over the images of their deities on the days of the festivals held sacred to them. As to the octagon ornament, in the middle of the robe, it may possibly refer to the period of eight years, after which the lunar and solar months of the Greeks commenced

together again on the same day, and possibly also began when the sun was in Taurus, as Virgil intimates in the line quoted from him in my last. The name of *Mount Taurus*, which the editor writes under this type, in this plate, is only founded on the same poetical and theoretic licence, by which he before found a *bull's body and legs* in an imaginary Persian animal, which is like nothing that ever existed. The multifarious objects to which the editor makes the present representation to refer, viz. Mount Taurus, the Egyptian Apis, and the constellation Taurus, reminds us of a similar practice in some etymologists, who, after offering two or three different etymologies of a word, desire the reader to pick and choose which he likes the best: but wherever a figure of a bull is found, the editor will as surely be found to make it denote Mount Taurus, as Mr. Bryant did in proving every name beginning with an *m* to be a relic of μην the *moon*.

Thus at p. 22, N°. 16, he gives the following account of another type represented in his pl. 4, fig. 16. "The demi-bull here with a human head and a long beard is a medal of *Gelas*. The Geleans were seated near the Caspian sea, and were *clearly* of Caucasian origin, or rather from Mount Taurus, which we see they commemorated on their medals together with *its human head:* several towns in Sicily, being colonies of Geleans, adopted nearly the same type." Now the name of those Geleans in Asia is always by Strabo and Pliny spelt *Gelæ;* whereas the name on this medal is *Gelas;* this was the name of a noted river in Sicily; and it is a distinction always preserved between the two places,

so that there is not the least pretence for ascribing this medal to the *Geleans*, nor for deriving their origin from Mount Taurus: if therefore any thing could be proved here in the editor's favour, it would be that the river *Gelas* in Sicily had its sources in Mount Taurus in Asia minor. But in reality the author appears not to have the least conception of what such *demi-bulls with human faces* were intended to express on medals; certainly not any *high mountain*, but, on the contrary, *a low river:* it is, indeed, as unfortunate that he should mistake the one for the other, as *Gelæ* for *Gelas*, but this mistake it was, which misled him to find *towns in Sicily which were colonies of Geleans from M. Taurus*, when these pretended *towns* were, in fact, only *rivers*, expressed by symbols of *demi-bulls*, as was usual with the ancients, of which we are thus informed by Ælian. "Quidam colentes *fluvios* et imagines eorum fabricantes partim humanam, partim boûm figuram iis affingunt; nam bobus similes faciunt Lacedemonii Eurotam, Argivi Cephissum; in hominum vero figura Cherronesii et alii plurimi: Athenienses autem Cephissum colunt ut virum cornutum. Porro in Sicilia Syracusii Anapum viro assimilant, at Cyanam fontem ut fœminam honorant; Agrigentini fluvium speciosi pueri formâ effingentes illi sacrificant." *Lib. 2, 33.* Hence then we see the reason of so many bulls being found on coins, and that instead of denoting the descent of the inhabitants of such cities from *Mount* Taurus, they express only some *river* in their own neighbourhood, and such is, doubtless, the case of the medal in question, on which the name also of the river itself is inscribed;

neither was there any town of that name in Sicily. Ælian, however, rather ambiguously mentions those figures of rivers, which were compounded of a half bull and a human face with a long beard; he does not nevertheless contradict, but that all those bulls, expressive of rivers, might have had human faces, and thus that many persons compounded the two symbols together, which others made use of separately, *a bull* and *a human figure*, sometimes male and sometimes female. Of the last kind the editor has given us several examples in pl. 3, N°. 17, 18, 19, where are represented men swimming in rivers at the feet of a female genius of the city seated on a rock; certainly a better symbol of a river than the fore-half of a bull with a human face, which is, indeed, a strange device for the river, unless it was meant to denote the violent strength of a torrent, the noise of which was like the lowing of a bull. But in all this we find no reference intended to a mountain of the name of Taurus, as the editor supposes, nor as Mr. Bryant, just as strangely contended, that such swimming figures as in N°. 17. &c. were memorials still preserved in Asia of the deluge, in which the men represented there were struggling for life. N°. 12, 13, and 17, denote likewise some other rivers in pl. 4.

It would be useless to examine all the errors found in these *excursions*, as they are not improperly called, and, indeed, very eccentric ones likewise; yet it may be expedient to set readers right with respect to the *chimæras* and *triquetra* on the coins exhibited there, which I will therefore consider hereafter.

Although the examples already produced may be sufficient to shew the unsolid foundation, upon which the new principle of the Editor of Wells's Geography rests, concerning symbols found on medals, as being memorials of the origin of cities from other distant countries; particularly that, where a *bull* is found, it indicates an origin from Mount Taurus; yet since all illustrations any way connected with scripture acquire some importance from that connection, and ought likewise to be accompanied with greater veracity, instead of being liable to censure as the eccentricities of human fancy and fable, I shall therefore guard students of scriptural geography against some more of the delusions contained in the work under consideration. And this also, more especially, because I would wish my censures of this author to be considered as equally applicable to many other learned romances of the present age, with which we have been favoured by Warburton, Bryant, Maurice, Wilford, and others: all of whom have, like this author, intermixed so much of their own theoretic imaginations with the few relics of real truth, which they have presented to their readers; that it may be difficult to many persons to separate again the inventions of the writer and the artifices of the reasoner from the facts collected by the historian and antiquary. Warburton was, I believe, the original archetype of this new mode of literature, which has been followed by many others; who, although they have agreed in the mode, yet have applied it to a great variety of different subjects. And it seems to have had its origin hence, that they observed the public to neglect all instruction in solid truths as too

dry for the taste of the age, and not sufficiently amusing for a vacant hour; as well as also, that writers themselves had got to the utmost extremity of the line of truth, so that they could find nothing new to say; hence they both of them agreed to enter into the region of fable. Warburton led the way into this new mode, by connecting together a series of learned romances, interspersed, indeed, with many curious episodes on various subjects, and put together in the very epic manner of Herodotus, himself the father of authorized fable. This was rendered more engaging by a sufficient quantity of satire, sneer, and criticism, on the opinions of other authors, so that it was read by men of ability as being the current and fashionable tale of the day. This Jewish and religious romance was succeeded by Mr. Bryant's etymological romance, containing a rich medley, concerning both religious and profane subjects. To these Priestly added a Christian romance, in his *history* of early opinions. Mr. Wilford and Maurice compiled Indian romances; Young, Agricultural romances; various authors their several Travelling romances; and now, at length we have got a Geographical and Antiquarian romance concerning the first travels of the descendants of Noah from Mount Taurus. Upon the whole, they have verified the observation of Aristotle, that men evidently love hyperbolic exaggeration in every thing much more than the mere naked truth; as is plain, he says, from the common conversation of mankind, in which they always relate every thing accompanied with fabulous circumstances beyond the real truth,

on purpose to gratify their hearers the more. Hence it is, that writers of this class are in so much favour with the public, and those who teach men nothing but truths can never hope to rise up to a level with these builders of castles in the air, but must rather expect, with Icarus, to fall down headlong to their native and groveling plain ground.

We need then now no longer to wonder, that the Editor in question undertook, as mentioned in my last letter, to prove that three different things were one and the same; that is, the constellation of the stars, Taurus in the heavens, the huge mountain Taurus upon the surface of the earth in Asia, and the bull Apis in Egypt, beyond the Mediterranean sea. I had not sufficient paper left in my last to shew how ingeniously, by the help of antiquarian rhetoric and etymological logic, he proves, that a *bull* on a medal was intended to denote all those three objects at the same time; but I will now attempt to supply that deficiency; hoping, however, that it will at the same time be considered as an example of the ingenuity and strict mode of reasoning employed by all those of his predecessors, above mentioned, in this new species of literature; whenever they wish to connect together a mountain in one part of the world with a bull in another beyond the sea, and with a third as far distant as the heaven is from the earth. He says then, in addition to the passage quoted before " it is expressly said by Eustathius, *that the region of* [*Tauric Chersonesus*] *was denominated from the animal Taurus, or bull; which was considered as a memorial of 'O-Siris, the great*

husbandman, in Egypt, who first taught agriculture. Now this seems to imply, that *Siris* signified a bull as well as Taurus; or else Taurus the bull would have no relation in its name to the person of whom it was a memorial: but if *Siris* was one way of pronouncing Taurus (such as results from comparing the Hebrew and Chaldee pronunciation of *Syr* and *Tur*), then Taurus had a direct verbal allusion to its primary object—for the Chaldee word *tur* or *tyr* was, by the Hebrews, pronounced *Sur*, *shur*, or *syr*. This *simple* principle accounts for such variations at once, and only leads to remark further, that the Chaldee pronunciation *tur* seems to have prevailed most among the Asiatic nations we are acquainted with, therefore *Taurus* was the name of the mountain among them, and was commemorated under the figure of a bull." P. 26 and 27. Hence it becomes *very plain*, that the Hebrew pronunciation of the word by *Syr* and *Siris*, and, consequently, *'O-Siris*, means a bull, like *tur* or *Taurus;* for the Egyptian bull Apis was sacred to Osiris, the great husbandman, and he had proved before, at fig. 21, that the Zor-aster, or sacred bull of Egypt, there shews the sun on the head of Taurus [the constellation]. Thus all the *names* of these three objects are proved to mean, in fact, the very same; and hence the same symbol of a bull on a medal denotes them all three. Now I shall not object to the logical accuracy of this *conclusion*, but only to the *premises*, concerning what is *expressly* said by Eustathius; for unfortunately it happens, that Eustathius never said any thing of what is there ascribed to him. The Editor does not, indeed, refer to the work or page quoted

by him, but I presume it must have been from the commentary by Eustathius on the geography of Dionysius; and if mistaken in this it is his own fault, or rather his own prudence, in omitting the reference. Eustathius has nothing more, than only to observe, that when Dionysius mentions the Kimmerians as dwelling *under Taurus*, "that he means a different Taurus from that eastern one in Cilicia, or at least only a distant and northern branch of it, whence their region is called *Tauric Chersonesus*;" without any mention whatever of the *animal bull*, or the *great husbandman 'O-siris*. Τουτον ταυρον Διονυσιος λεγει ορος αλλο παρα τον ἑωον ταυρον, η Βορειον τι τμημα εκεινου του ταυρου, ὑφ' ᾧ κειν ται οἱ κιμμέριοι, Ενθα και ἡ ταυρικη Χερσοννησος. *Apud vers.* 168. When the foundation thus is taken away the house falls, and if he cannot find some other *historic* testimony he must depend solely upon the above mentioned *etymologic* proofs of any connection between the *animal*, the *mountain*, and the *constellation*. I shall only observe further, that I suppose *'O-siris* to be an error of the press for *ʿO-siris*, and that he meant ʿ to be the Greek article *the*; so that ʿ*-siris*, by this conjuration, means *the bull* most certainly; and why should not Greek be joined with Hebrew and Egyptian words, just as a man's head to a bull's body, and this to mean a river? I should be apt, however, again to call this a *fabulous animal* rather than a bull; and certainly, also, it was a long journey from Mount Taurus for the word to come first to Greece and then into Syria before it reached Egypt: or did the Editor mean

that, by a common poetic licence, *i* might be cut off from *Siris* as being no necessary part of the word? It was, indeed, very natural for different and distant nations to give the same name of *bull* to a mountain, yet without any imitation one of another; for a bull is the largest animal known on this side of India, and by the thick massy form of its neck and shoulders, not an improper symbol of the vastness of the object represented: but it is not quite so obvious, that there is any connection between the names *Osiris* and *Taurus*, as that the one should have been formed from the other; however, the difficulty seems to constitute the merit of the derivation in this new mode of literature, which has, for its object, whatever is vast, uncommon, or extraordinary, and beyond the puny knowledge of the rest of mankind:

So that tho' from Taurus Osiris is deriv'd, no doubt,
Yet it must be said, it has travelled a little round about.

Aristotle, however, had extracted a good rule out of the profane poet Homer, which would be of use to some Christian annotators on the Bible, that even one's romances ought to have some appearance of truth.

Some or other then of the above considerations clearly set aside all evidence deriveable from every one of the writer's medallic types having a bull upon them excepting three, namely, N°. 11, pl. 4, because it has lost its head and horns, so that it is more like a mule than a bull; and N°. 14, which presents a calf sucking a bull, as the Editor conceives by the help of his glass. This, indeed does not

seem very natural, yet he thinks it would not be unnatural if it referred to Mount Taurus; for as other articles of the type seem to indicate *fertility*, he is of opinion "that a fertile Mount Bull, maintaining a herd of calves, would be no absurdity." P. 21. For my own part, I should think, that the whole medal rather meant to represent a *famine;* for certainly nothing but necessity and a total want of all food could produce such an extraordinary adventure. As to the third medal, N°. 16, pl. 3, this is the only one, which has the least appearance of representing Mount Taurus, for this certainly exhibits the form of a bull at full length, and has underneath ΠΥΛΙΩΝ. Now *Pylæ* was a city at the foot of Mount Taurus, situate at a common pass from the north of Asia Minor to the south, often called *Pylæ Ciliciæ;* but Cicero calls it *Pylæ Tauri:* yet still even here it was not meant to commemorate the descent of the inhabitants, or their ancestors, from Noah's ark on the top of Taurus, but merely to distinguish it from other cities of that name elsewhere, of which there were many called *Pylæ* likewise, and the bull on the medal answered the same purpose as the phrase of Cicero would have done for a legend.—These extravaganzas, however do not diminish the utility to be derived from medals, when soberly explained, but the height of Mount Taurus has, in the present case, lifted the author's head a little too high into the clouds; and he will not be dissatisfied, that others should take a little view from Mount Pleasant as well as himself from Mount Bull, in order to prove, that romance is the order of the day, as our neighbours, the French, can verify likewise, who

have been engaged nearly twenty years in political romances, and are not yet sick of them.

It is not merely a great variety of animals which this new science, taught in the additions to Wells's Geography, proves to be on medals symbols of the origin of mankind in the neighbourhood of Mount Taurus, such as bulls, lions, eagles, goats, and serpents, but also all the imaginary animals of all nations, sphinxes, griffins, unicorns, and 'chimæras dire,' together with horned men, goddesses, and all other monsters of the human brain. Let us observe how ingeniously he demonstrates the truth of his assertions. In pl. 3, his N°. 1, exhibits a lion with a goat on its back, and the tail of the lion wreathed round like a serpent; its end being formed like a serpent's head. This represents the *chimæra*, which, according to the ancients, was compounded of a lion, serpent, and goat. Underneath are the letters ΣE, which he conceives to mean *Seriphion*, as he calls that island in the Egean sea, just as *Pylæ* he before named *Pylion*, because the Greek legend had πυλιών, and certainly there is no material difference between a nominative and genitive case; so that his orthography is as excellent as his accuracy in quotation both here and before: for here he refers for *Seriphio* to the fourth c. of the Annals of Tacitus, yet it is difficult to find any such word there to countenance his own. However, whether right or not, in referring this medal to *Seriphos*, let us attend to his conclusions concerning it. He says "the mountain Caucasus is described

as having three noticeable heads or peaks. These are symbolized in this medal, N°. 1, which shews a lion, goat, and serpent conjoined, forming the *chimæra:* it is a medal of Seriphion. Virgil calls Seriphion *serpentiferam:* it was a mere rock. Medalists acknowledge their ignorance of the reason why the chimæra has been inserted on its medals, and what can it have possibly to do with Seriphion? The reference is perfectly unnatural, and even monstrous; there is no conformity between the symbols and the place symbolized. Taking this as certain, I suggest that it was colonized from *Seripha*, a city and a mountainous district in Caucasus, placed in *our* map annexed, and well known and acknowledged: these colonists, to perpetuate the remembrance of their original station, adopted on their coins the insignia of that original station; thus all becomes easy. The lion, the goat, and the serpent, are the three most considerable heads of Caucasus—I have been particular on the type of this medal, because I think the conclusion clear, and shall not therefore so particularly examine every medal: here the very name Seriphion has likewise been preserved from the parent *Seripha.*" p. 18. Thus we have a new explication of the chimæra, which the ancients erroneously supposed to have represented the clearance of Mount Cragus, in Cilicia, from lions, serpents, and *wild goats* (named χιμαιραι Greek) by the exertions of Bellerophon mounted on the winged horse Pegasus. I have read over the explications of ancient fables, by the well known Hudibrastic Alexander Ross, but never found there any thing so curious and learned,

at least so novel. I do not dispute the certainty of this account of the origin of those islanders in the Egean sea from Mount Caucasus, but shall only observe, that I cannot find that well-known city the *Seripha*, of Caucasus, to be even mentioned by any one ancient whatever; and unfortunately the author himself also has forgot to insert it in his annexed map: possibly he could not find the right place for it; and, I verily believe, that Wells also has been so careless as to omit this great city, unless it be the same as *Sephar* or *Sepharvaim*; but these were certainly too far to the east for Caucasus: perhaps, it was the same as the mountain *Riphah*, for by adding *se* to it we may get *Seriphah*, and this addition is just as easy as when we before took away *O* from *O-siris*. Moreover, I never before met with the history of the three peaks of Caucasus, called lion head, goat head, and serpent head. But it seems unjust both in the author and other medalists to say that Seriphos had no concern with the chimæra; not indeed immediately; yet it had a distant connexion through the actions of its own hero, Perseus: for when he slew Medusa, her drops of blood produced not only serpents, some of which travelled into both Mount Cragus and Seriphos itself, but also the winged horse Pegasus sprung from those drops; who, flying over into Greece, was luckily caught by Bellerophon, as he was drinking at a fountain near Corinth; who directly mounted him and flew into Cilicia, where he destroyed the chimæra. So that I doubt it will be difficult to assert that Seriphos had not as near a connexion with the chimæra, as with Mount Caucasus: and, possibly,

the reason of its adopting for its symbol the tail of the tale instead of the head of it, Perseus himself, was, because a Perseus riding on the winged horse had been adopted by the Corinthians as their symbol, unless it be rather Bellerophon; but most certainly the serpent in the tail of the lion was well suited to the case of Seriphos, which abounded so much in serpents, as well as frogs, as required another such conquest as that over the chimæra itself, to clear the island.

The author, moreover, supports the above explication and his chief principle of such symbols, expressing the colonies derived from Noah's ark, and dispersed throughout the world, by means of another medal of Tarsus in Cilicia, at N°. 2, pl. 3, exhibiting again the chimæra under the form of a lion with the horns of the goat, &c. and a human figure with bows and arrows standing erect upon the lion's back, whom he calls a *Scythian;* and as Scythians resided near Mount Caucasus, hence he concludes, that "the reference of these emblems to Caucasus is *clear*, on the principles already explained." p. 19. Thus this pretended *Scythian* forms the *only* connexion between the chimæra and Caucasus: but why may not that human figure represent Bellerophon himself as well as a Scythian? He nevertheless concludes it "to be *clearly* again the head, principal, or ruler, of Mount Lion and Taurus," *i. e.* the commander of a Scythian tribe on that mountain.

These inquiries are as amusing, and almost as true, as the tales which children read in Esop's Fables, where mankind are instructed by birds and

beasts; and which are thus, by the author, happily extended to historic as well as moral instruction: however, he does not originate all mankind from Mount Taurus, but allows some part of the human race to have come from that storehouse of all knowledge, human and divine, India. For he had read in Genesis xi. 2, that mankind journeyed from the east to Shinar; from whence then could they come except from India? And agreeably to this he found some mention made in Greek authors, "that colonies from Ethiopia, which, he says, means India, settled in Egypt and in Syria." p. 24. Now he finds memorials even of these colonies preserved likewise by the symbols on medals; for he presents us with the types of coins, struck in several cities of Syria, having a female figure, seated on a rock, and a river flowing at her feet, with a man swimming in it. Having also observed that some of these had a temple on the brink of the river, he at first conceived that the men seen swimming were the priests of the goddess on the rock, who was worshipped in those temples, and that her priests were performing their sacred ablutions in the adjacent rivers. "I acknowledge that I was long in doubt whether the swimmer denoted one of the religious persons who bathe in the river." p. 16. But as second thoughts are often best, "he afterwards, in a medal of Tarsus, found the same goddess crowned, and at her feet the waves of a river and a man swimming as usual, but he had horns on his head." *ibid.* Now the sight of the horns staggered him much, and induced him to alter his former opinion; not that he conceived the man with the horns to be a victim of

the inconstancy of his goddess, at whose feet he lays prostrate, and even seems to be peeping; no, he obtained his horns in a more honourable way: for the author had read in Indian accounts, that when the river Ganges leaves the mountains, where its sources are, and enters the adjacent plains, "it runs through some narrow rocks, which the natives call the *cow's mouth*." p. 15. Hence it occurred to the author, "that the above type alluded, *beyond all contradiction*, to the horns on the *cow's head*, through which rock the river Ganges passes." p. 16. So that the Indians, who settled in Syria, brought the cow's horns along with them, when they left India, and placed them on their own heads, as a memorial of their origin from the bank of the Ganges; and thus these symbols confirm the accounts both of scripture and profane historians. He adds, "this medal is further applicable to our purpose, as *the goddess* sits on a seat decorated with a figure of a griffin; that is, a lion and eagle united, (two mountains on our principles)." These mountains, however, are now no longer the heads of Mount Taurus, but the mountains in which the Ganges has its source—"and in combining these ideas it is impossible not to admit their perfect correspondence, though employed in distant parts of the globe, as being *repetitions* of the original emblems adopted by these colonies, which had quitted the region of their nativity, but not forgotten its memorials." So that here we have these symbols and the science of *bullism* only at second hand, in imitation of those invented by the earliest descendants from the ark of Noah, after it had rested on

Mount Taurus; but thus the original bull's horns are now turned into a cow's horns: and as it might be still doubtful what that *goddess* has to do here, he informs us, "that it is the image of the Indian god Vistnou, in a female form, as giving birth to the river Ganges." p. 15. And why should not a god be transformed into a goddess, as well as a bull into a cow, or a cow, suckling its calf, into a bull giving suck. This is all so sublimely mystical and so wildly ingenious, concerning the antiquities of mankind, that well may we say of the author with Ovid,

> "In nova fert animus mutatas dicere formas;
> Corpora, Dî, cœptis (nam, Dî mutastis et illas)
> Aspirate tuis, dum ab origine mundi
> Et Noah, ad hæc deducite tempora mythos."

All this far exceeds even the bright imagination of Mr. Bryant, *that the man swimming in the river represented the desolation caused by the deluge;* and how superior are both these explications of such medals to that of *Noris?* who could give no better account of the *goddess* on such medals, than the simple explication of its being "Urbis *imago turrita* monticulum insidens et habens subtus figuram fluminis, quo urbs alluitur, et virum ex undis emergentem." p. 247 and 345: which is too suitable to the abovementioned information of Ælian to be true, that the ancients denoted rivers sometimes by male and sometimes by female figures; and sometimes also by a *vir cornutus:* but how the ancients came by these horns is now for the first time perfectly cleared up. "*The mural crown also on the female head is now shewn to the high crowned diadem*

of Vistnou; and that Noah himself drank out of the river Ganges at the cow's mouth." In fine, it is not possible for me to do justice to all the good things in this new antiquarian novel; but I will exhibit one example more which proves, beyond all dispute, that three human *feet*, found sometimes impressed on medals, were symbols of the three *heads* of Mount Taurus.

After the author of the *additions* in question had ransacked all nature, both in the heavens above and in the earth beneath, for objects, which might be considered as symbols of Mount Taurus; and even pressed into his service such objects as are not in nature, but the mere inventions of human fancy, such as those compounded and imaginary animals of antiquity, minotaurs, chimæras, and other monsters, he at last found some more pretended symbols of the same existing in the accidental embellishments impressed by some ancient artists on some of their medals; so that every part of the world is made to turn its face toward Mount Bull, and even human *legs* and *feet* are found by him to have been employed as symbolic expressions of the *three heads* of it in those cases where *triplicity* is implied in them.

The superstitious veneration of the Pythagoreans to the numbers of *three* and *seven* is very well known, but it has been doubted as to what gave origin to those whimsical attachments; some persons have supposed, that the idolatrous adoration of the seven planets produced the current esteem for the number *seven*; but what gave rise to that for the number

three has never been sufficiently known: our present author, however, has at last discovered the mystery, and finds it to have had a very ancient origin indeed, as having arisen from the account given by Moses of the situation of Paradise, and afterwards confirmed still more from the respect paid by the descendants of Noah to the *three heads* of Mount Bull.

Read his own words; "*Armenia alba* is one of the highest regions in the world, for it sends out rivers in contrary directions toward the *four* cardinal points in the heavens, and contains *three mountains*. Now I must remind the reader, that in coincidence with this account, Moses in Genesis specifies *three provinces*, as being adjacent to paradise; for though the number of his *rivers* be *four*, his provinces are only *three*, Ethiopia, Havilah, and Assiria; and we can scarcely doubt, that this number was hence received among the ancients. In proof of this we may refer to the well-known emblem of Caucasus, a lion, a goat, and a serpent. [*i. e. a chimæra*] *three;* or the bull, the eagle and man, *three;* or the lion, eagle, and human head, *three;* which form the *griffin*, or the *sphinx*.

"But I think there is yet a more *simple* proof of this *triplicity*, in the figure called *triquetra*, which is formed on medals by a circle, or disk, in the center, from which issue *three bended legs*, as it were following one another, which are sometimes separated by ears of corn; implying *so many provinces* fertile in grain. If these *legs* be thought to hint at the *long journies*, migrations, devious ways of the travellers, and the ears of corn to signify *the provinces*,

then the circle or round disk in the middle may denote *the mountain* [Taurus I presume]; and thus it must be owned, their emblematic meaning is not undeserving of attention." *p.* 11. Et quidem eris mihi *magnus Apollo!*—"Such symbols on medals are not dubious, but direct allusions to the original country of the primitive colonists—and the most ancient cities, whose inhabitants we may reasonably conclude came directly from Mount Caucasus, adopted these emblems, at first to maintain a memorial of their origin, and in later times a proof of their antiquity." *p.* 12.

Having thus been entertained with a sample of the antediluvian and Noarchic history of the cause of predilection for the number three, and the symbolic meaning of the *triquetra* on medals, that is, three bended legs and feet, let us next attend to the modern history of them. Pliny informs us, that Sicily was by many called *Trinacria aut Triquetra a triangula specie* (lib. iii. 8). At each of the three angles are three considerable promontories of rock, which say to the boistrous sea, hitherto shalt thou come and no further. Hence the Sicilians, at first adopted *three bent horns*, as a symbol of their island, which horns were joined together at one end like the spokes of a wheel: now horns were always in ancient times considered a significative of *power, strength, and firmness*, as is well known. This symbol was both simple and readily understood, as alluding to the three promontories of their triangular island. Of these some examples may be seen in plate 4, fig. 6, 7, and 12: the two first have only *kol*, inscribed on them, which seems to mean *Colonia*; the third

has apparently the name of some unknown city, so that it cannot be determined hence that these were cities of Sicily; but we shall see afterwards a more clear proof of this. For as mankind are soon tired of what is simple and intelligible, some whimsical artist, in later times, changed this symbol, under pretence probably of proposed embellishment merely, and substituted for the three *bent horns*, a more mysterious one of *three bent human legs and feet* joined together at the thigh, like the spokes of a wheel, in imitation of the former symbol: of these, examples may be seen in the author's pl. 3, fig. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and pl. 4, fig. 8; and in such incongruous whimsies as these of ancient medalic artists, he has discovered mystical allusions to the pretended *three heads* of Mount Taurus, and also the three fertile provinces contiguous to paradise; although the *ears of corn* intermixed with the legs probably only alluded to the fertility of Sicily in grain, and the *legs* themselves were only a fanciful variation of the three *horns*, expressive of Sicily; not any allusion to the *long journeys*, *migrations*, and *devious ways* of the Noarchic travellers from Mount Taurus.

But one of the types on the above medals, fig. 9, contains a further and important information, which fixes these symbols to the cities in Sicily, for it has on it the legend Συρακοσιον, thus proving it to belong to *Syracuse*, as the others therefore probably did to other cities there: one of them also, fig. 7, has inscribed *A Florus triumvir*, 3, which at least proves them not to belong to more ancient times, than the Roman republic, therefore certainly a few years later than the age of Noah and his issue.

But if any readers prefer mystical romance and the sublimity of inventive fancy to the simplicity of history, I have no desire to interrupt their entertainment, but wish them a safe journey to the top of Mount Caucasus and its three heads. I only wonder at the strange turn, which the ingenuity of man sometimes takes, and expect, that before the author has finished his work, he will find the history of Noah in the figures formed by the clouds, and compute the number of years since his death by the contents in a paper of pins! Throughout the whole there is indeed such an extraordinary intermixture of erudition with extravagant suppositions, that it appears like a connected dream by a man not quite awake, and in his learned rather than sober senses.

One observation, however, I may still add, as it seems to have been misrepresented by the author. In pl. 4, fig. 7 and 8, he presents two medals, having on them two bull's heads joined together at the neck, with the Sicilian symbol of the *triquetra* on the reverse in both; on which he remarks "This double bull I take to be a Persian emblem, and therefore have added, in N°. 9, a similar figure from the tomb of *Naxi Rustan* in Persia; but this peculiarity struck me in these bulls, that they have but *one horn*. N°. 10 also is given at large by *Lebruyn*, in which there is also a *single* horn—this proves the figure to be emblematical." But there is another peculiarity, which he has omitted; the form of the nose of these pretended bulls is too sharp and pointed for that animal, being more like the nose of a dog; and the figures in all those numbers seem to be the very same as one of those two fictitious ani-

mals, which Niebuhr delineated from the walls of Persepolis. At p. 175 I gave an account of one of them, which we may call the Persian *sphinx;* the other Niebuhr calls the Persian *unicorn;* it has, indeed, lost its head, but the form of it may be supplied from his pl. 23, where it is perfect and seized by a lion, of which he gives an account in his p. 109; and adds in 110, "that one meets with this figure, which I call an unicorn, frequently among those ruins, so that it seems to have been a very remarkable emblem with the ancient Persians."

At his pl. 25, fig. *e*, Niebuhr presents a third fictitious animal, having but one horn also, which we may call the Persian *griffin*, and this seems to be the same as that copied by our author at fig. 10, from Lebruyn, therefore different from the *unicorn* at N°. 7 and 9.

What these three animals were meant to represent is quite unknown, but thus far is evident, that our author had no pretence to call any of them *bulls;* for in all of them the heads approach nearer to those of a deer or a dog. It is, however, very extraordinary, that these Persian fictitious animals should be found upon medals formed in Sicily, as the *triquetra* on N°. 6, 7, 8, and 12, indicate.

I will mention a conjecture, which has occurred to me concerning the origin of this, but which I give only as an uncertain hint for others to confirm or refute by future examples of the same kind, which may present themselves. We know, that Mount Cragus in Cilicia, which was the scene of Bellerophon's exploits, afterwards denoted by the *chimæra*,

was a burning mountain; hence possibly some city at the foot of Mount Ætna in Sicily might have adopted likewise the *chimæra* for its symbol; and, in imitation of that, yet at the same time in order to be distinguished from it, other cities near Mount Ætna might have adopted other foreign and fictitious animals of a compounded nature, like the chimæra, to denote their situation being in the neighbourhood of the volcano of Ætna.

But however this may be, yet thus much seems clear, that the coin with Συρακοσιον on it was struck in Sicily, therefore that the *triquetra* impressed upon it rather referred to the three promontories of *Trinacria* than to the three heads of Mount Bull; and also that no medal with any real bull impressed upon it has been found by the author, among all those which have the Sicilian *triquetra* upon them; and so end these medalic romances concerning Mount Bull, and the several colonists who derived their origin from it.

S.

ART. DCCLXXXVIII. *Remarks on the Pronunciation and Name of Jericho.*

TO THE EDITOR OF CENSURA LITERARIA.

SIR,

THERE is a practice to which modern periodical critics are too much addicted, of expressing their criticisms in such a loose, imperfect, and often erroneous manner, that while they are noticing one mistake or fault in any author, they themselves, in

the course of their remarks, mislead their readers into many more errors, and of more consequence than those few which they correct: thus they multiply and circulate their own mistakes so much, as requires the pens of other critics to set things in their true light to readers in general. I will notice one example of this, which has just now occurred to me. A late writer, in some remarks on M. Chateaubriand's Journey to Jerusalem, has these words: "Either the author himself, or his printer, has committed an error in calling Jericho *Rinha;* it is called by the Arabs *Riha*, or *Eriha*, with a strong aspirate on the *H:* this is, in fact, its antient Hebrew name; for as to Jericho it is a barbarism, of which eastern pronunciation is perfectly innocent." Now the correction of *Rinha* into *Riha* is perfectly just; but this has given rise to other errors of his own, or, at least to such doubts, as do not entitle him to pronounce, *that eastern pronunciation is perfectly innocent.* Did he by *barbarism* mean to say, that it is in the above French author himself, or in modern nations in general toward the west, while those in the east have preserved the right pronunciation down to this day? Now to whom he here imputes this pretended barbarism is at least doubtful; but it certainly did not originate with modern nations, but was derived by them from the Greeks and Romans, if it be a barbarism; however, there is reason to believe, that it was not imputable even to them, but was rather founded upon the oriental pronunciation current in those ages, and that it has been rather the modern Arabs, who have corrupted the pronunciation of the former times, and who therefore

are not *perfectly innocent*. Not only Strabo, and other profane authors write the word Ἰεριχω, and the Romans *Hiericho;* but we find the same always in the New Testament, though writ by Christians in Syria, who were well acquainted with the pronunciation of the country in general, and of the Jews in particular, to whom the town belonged. It is spelt the same also by the Jewish translators of the Old Testament, long before, in the Septuagint, as well as by Josephus afterwards. Is it not rash then to affirm, that all these were totally ignorant of the right pronunciation of the name of a town, in their neighbourhood, during the age in which they lived? It was certainly thus pronounced by all Syrians who spoke Greek, and that this was quite different from the common pronunciation by the natives, who spoke Syriac, Hebrew, and Chaldee, is an assertion which no discreet man will venture to make. Nay, on the contrary, there is good foundation to believe that the Hebrew name itself, to which the critic refers, was itself the means of introducing the Greek name, by the attempts of the Greeks to imitate its pronunciation, as it was current in those ages. For in Hebrew, according to what seems to have been the original power of the Hebrew letters which then prevailed, although greatly changed afterwards, the name is *irihu*, or *irichu*, and this not only among the ancient Jews, who better understood Hebrew, but even, in later times, among the Jewish Rabbins in their writings. Now, in regard to the first syllable, we find that both Greeks and Romans always aspirated the first vowel *i* into Ἱερχω and *Hiericho;*

which testifies that it was then aspirated, although now possibly not so by the present Arabs in their name *Eriha;* nay, even the first vowel seems to be altogether lost by them in *Riha*, if this be true; so that the present is only the skeleton of the original name, and a strong testimony that corruption may have equally happened to the last syllable as to the first. Therefore, the only corruption of western nations has been in pronouncing the first vowel *i* like *ge*, i. e. as they generally pronounce their consonant J at the beginning of words, both in French and English; which has, however, still something of an aspiration in it, therefore does not essentially differ from the former aspiration by the Greeks and Romans, but certainly comes nearer to it than the present Arabic pronunciation by *Eriha*, without any aspirate. The Hebrew vowel, which ends the word, was originally and properly an *u*, which, however, was afterwards sounded by the Jews very differently, sometimes like *o* and sometimes like *i*. Some Greeks seem to have thought it was then sounded like *o* and their *w* long; yet others, both in Greek and Latin, conceived it still to resemble most to an *u*, for in Greek it is sometimes found to be spelt ουν, and in Latin *Hierichun*, so that they appear to have been in doubt between *u* and *o*. This proves nothing more than the ambiguous sound of it to foreign ears, not any actual corruption of the original name. As to the *h* in the last syllable of the Hebrew *hu*, this aspirate is often, in Latin, expressed by an *h* likewise, and often by *ch*, by which was generally denoted the Greek χ. What the precise sound of this letter was has never been determined; but it

apparently must have included some degree of the sound of the Greek κ, and like our *k*, because we often find oriental words with the oriental aspirate *h* to be sometimes rendered by χ and sometimes by *k* in Greek. This has happened also to this very word in question; for, in the geography of Ptolemy, Jericho is writ *Ericos* in the printed editions, both in Greek and Latin, [ερικος,] but in the Basil edition of 1533, (which, whether the first or not, I have not examined) it is spelt ιερειχους: here then we again find such remains of the final Hebrew vowel *u*, as well as in *Hierichun* abovementioned, as prove these variations to have only arisen from the ambiguity of the Hebrew sounds to Greek ears; but, the very same time, they prove, that the sound of that Hebrew vowel, then current, approached rather in Greek to an ω or υ than to the present orthography of the Arabs by α as in *Eriha;* and, moreover, that the oriental aspirate before it had a similar sound with the Greek χ, the Latin *ch*, and hence, with our English method, of sometimes sounding *ch* by a *k*. Consequently, there is no sufficient proof of Jericho, as pronounced by the French and ourselves, to be a corrupted sound of the original Hebrew, but rather the present Arab words *Riha* and *Eriha*, in case the Arabian sounds be perfectly expressed by those Roman letters; which seems, however, rather doubtful, and neither is it perfectly known at present what were originally the true Hebrew sounds of their letters, and they are better determined by these attempts of the cotemporary Greeks to imitate them, than by any traditions transmitted to us by the Jews

themselves, who, by their intercourse with so many other nations, have entirely lost the ancient pronunciation both of their vowels and consonants, neither is there sufficient reason to presume that the Arabs have better preserved them after such a length of time.

ART. DCCLXXXIX. *On the too hasty assumption of a modern Critic that Cadytis was Jerusalem.*

TO THE EDITOR OF CENSURA LITERARIA.

SIR,

THERE are two conspicuous defects in those who professedly sit in critical judgment upon the writings of other authors, which one would wish to see amended, if they desire to gain a superiority over their rivals. Sometimes they advance new and peculiar opinions of their own, or such, at least, as are scarcely known to the learned world, and, depending upon the presumed certainty of such opinions, censure other authors for not having adopted the same, although they never had any opportunity to hear of them before; and, although, even now those critics have made public either none of the reasons by which such opinions may be supported, or at least, only such a superficial and confused sketch of them, as can convince nobody of their good foundation.

I gave an example of this defect, in my last letter, respecting Jericho; and, certainly, this is not a method to arrive at superiority in criticism, or to give

satisfaction to such readers as wish to know what are the most rational opinions held by the learned public upon any subject which occurs.

But there is likewise another common defect, of which I shall give an example in my present paper, and which is of a directly opposite kind; this, instead of starting new and untenable opinions of a critic's own formation, consists in retailing old and disputed opinions as certain, which have, indeed, been long before the public, but have been opposed by later writers; and, if not quite refuted, yet, at least, the credit of them has been so far shaken that rational inquirers are at a loss how to determine between the two; and, without any impeachment to a man's understanding, some persons may embrace one opinion and some the other.

In this case a public critic seems as if he was only conversant with those who lived in a former century, if he thus takes not the least notice of the contrary opinions of those who have writ in the present century, and thus only adopts the notions of our great grandfathers. Readers will wish to know the latest opinions on every subject, as well as the earliest, and then form a judgment for themselves between them.

The critic, abovementioned, on M. Chateaubriand's Journey to Jerusalem, will supply us likewise with an example of this defect in modern criticism: for he says to this purport, "When Herodotus mentions the capture by Pharaoh Necho of a great city, in Syria, called Cadytis, he meant Jerusalem; for the current name of it is still called *Kuds* by the natives, which means the *holy* city; and so

it was anciently termed likewise, namely, Kedesh in Hebrew, from which Herodotus formed his name *Cadytis*."

Now, the earliest of modern authors conceived Herodotus to mean *Cadesh-barnea;* but as this was too far inland for Necho to take in his road from Egypt, Lightfort presumed that Jerusalem was rather meant, as this was known by the name of Kedesh likewise; in this he was too hastily followed by Hyde in his notes to Peritsol (p. 19;) by Prideaux, and others, none of whom, however, seem to have accurately compared the account of Herodotus concerning the situation of Cadytis with the situation of Jerusalem. Nay, they even mistook the sense of one of his words, which is not ουρεων, *mountains*, but ουρων, *borders*.

This mistake of the Latin translator, Valla, confirmed to them that Jerusalem was meant, it being in a mountainous district. Hyde produces this very circumstance as a proof in favour of Jerusalem, and neither Perizonius nor Reland afterwards corrected the error, but confirmed it, for he even writes the word ουρεα instead of ουρα. [*Palest. illustr. p.* 669]. This shews that our grandfathers are not entitled t implicit credit; and the critic in question ought to have hesitated before he adopted their opinion, unless he had, at the same time, been able to remove the objections which have been since made to it.

It does not appear, by his extract, that the French author took either side of the question, therefore the critic has been altogether a volunteer with respect to the subject; and this rendered it the more

incumbent on him to have guided his readers into a right path, and shewn them how very doubtful, at least, the opinion of those earlier authors was, instead of decidedly embracing it; and this without the least notice of its having been since opposed by that great orientalist Reland, and such objections made by him as cannot be easily removed. In this he had been also anticipated, in some degree, by Leclerc, (2 K. 23) and by Perizonius [*Ægypt. orig. p.* 417]. Jackson also appears to have been convinced by Reland "Those learned men who supposed Kadytis to be Jerusalem seem to be mistaken." *Vol. I.* 344, *in note.*

Thus far, however, it is only a war between authorities, yet this ought not to have been concealed from readers under a peremptory assertion of a contrary opinion, if the critic chose to introduce this subject, though irrelevant to the contents of his French author, as hereby uninformed readers must be led into error, and those better informed be dissatisfied with such assertions, as represent what is very uncertain, to be an article certainly agreed to by all learned men.

The objections of Reland are these—"Minime convenit hæc opinio [de Hierosolyma] cum ipso Herodoto; versatur enim in describenda ora *maritima*, in quâ non erat Jerusalem: dicit quod, *a Cadyti usque ad montem Casium regio erat ditioni Arabicæ.* An Hoc dici potest de regione quæ est ad *austrum* Hierosolymæ? Non puto: Adde quod videatur urbs Cadytis conspecta ab ipso Herodoto; si ea Jerusalem fuisset, num neglexisset mentionem Templi et tot stupendorum operum, quibus illa

urbs præ aliis eminuit, quum ipse rerum quas vidit in urbibus minus nobilibus mentionem faciat accuratam?"

In fact, between Jerusalem, and the *Arabian desert*, intervened the whole tribe of Judah; and on the coast between Joppe, the nearest port to Jerusalem, and the same desert were the two whole tribes of Dan and Simeon. How then could he say, with the least truth, that "ab *illâ* (sc. Cadyti) quæ urbs est (ubi mihi videtur) non multo minor Sardibus, *emporia maritima* usque ad (Casium montem) sunt ditionis Arabicæ." When, in truth, between Joppe, and the Arabian desert, were the sea-ports, Jamnia, Ascalon, Accaron, Asotus, and Gaza, all belonging to the Jews, whom he expressly calls *Syrians*, when he mentions the victory of Nechao over them; and, moreover, from the commencement of the Arabian desert, near Gaza, there is not a single port, or harbour, all the way until one comes to Pelusium and Egypt.

It is evident then that this account of the situation of Cadytis is quite inconsistent with the situation of Jerusalem in the inland *mountainous* country, and he seems even to make it a sea-port; for he says *from that city, Cadytis, the sea-ports all belong to the Arabians;* what is this but to call Cadytis also a sea-port? There are, indeed, a few small towns upon the sea coasts of the Arabian desert, if it was these that he calls *Emporia;* but still he makes the Arabian desert a dominion, at least, to *begin* at Cadytis, in which case he could only mean Gaza by Cadytis and he might, perhaps, as well have formed that name from *Gaza* as from *Kedesh*, if we consider how

Gaza was pronounced by the Syrians; for the *G* is not written by them; their name being only *Aza*, which they pronounced, however, with such a guttural aspirate before it, as the Greeks expressed by a *G* in writing, though it was rather *Gh* or *Ch*, and the *z* rather *ts* or *ds*, so that it would sound *Chatsa* or *Chadsa*, and many such words thus beginning with *G* the Greeks sometimes changed to *K*.

It has not occurred to me that Herodotus any where mentions *Gaza* in his history; if he has, he then could not mean Gaza by Cady-tis; but as to *tis* that may be merely an adjunct termination, which the Greeks frequently added to oriental names: and we have certainly other Greek changes of oriental names nearly similar. Thus *Gedor*, in 1 Chr. iv. 39, is by Eusebius writ Κεδους; and *Chatsur* in 2 K. 15, 29, in English *Hazor*, is in the Sept. Ασωρ, and with the aspirate added might easily become in Greek Καασωρ, or *Kasyr*; why then from *Gaza*, i. e. *Chadsa*, might not Herodotus form *Kada*, or *Kady*, just as easily as from *Kedesh*? Gaza he certainly must have actually seen himself in his passage to Egypt, and his own words prove him to have seen the city Cadytis in question.

But it is, however, more easy to say what city it was not, if his description be accurate, than what it was; and if we cannot depend upon his description of the situation of the city, much less can we depend upon our own derivation of the name of it, either from *Kedesh* or *Chadsa*, or any other ornamental name.

Upon the whole then no critic ought, with any

confidence, to pronounce it to be Jerusalem, unless he can, at the same time, produce some further and better proofs of it than have been adduced hitherto, and which do not depend upon mere conjectures concerning its oriental derivation, as is the case at present, excepting this single fact, that Nechao did take Jerusalem *after* his victory and not before it.

But then Herodotus certainly mistook *Megiddo*, where the Jews agree that the battle was fought in the kingdom of Israel, and on the north of Jerusalem, for *Magdolus*, which Antoninus places on the confines of Egypt, near Pelusium; consequently, he might have reasonably thought the capture of Gaza also to have happened after that victory, if this was the city meant by him. So that nothing else is certain except that either these modern critics must be mistaken, who suppose Cadytis to be Jerusalem; or if not, then Herodotus must be strangely mistaken in describing Cadytis as situated *contiguous* to the Arabian dominion and desert, and, at the same time, *near* the coast, if not actually a sea-port town.

Whatever is doubtful in ancient history ought to be represented as doubtful, and the unlearned not imposed on by pretended learning, which amounts to nothing more than uncertain, and those often fanciful conjectures, concerning the derivations of names, from oriental sources.

Mr. Beloe has altogether omitted to translate the word ουρων, but in his note on Magdolum he has also retained the *erroneous* sense of it, in calling Cadytis a *mountainous city*, and thus inclining others to agree to his opinion of its being Jerusalem in the

mountains. But if this was actually the city meant by Herodotus, and now called *Kuds*, we have here another excellent specimen how well the Arabians have preserved the right pronunciation of the ancient oriental name *Kedesh*, or *Kedeschah*, or *Kedetha*, as our critic contended in my last.

S.

Art. DCCXC. *Defects of Modern Criticism.*

TO THE EDITOR OF CENSURA LITERARIA.

Sir,

I have often lamented the present state of public critcism; for although there are many who undertake the office, yet there are too many reasons to be dissatisfied with all of them: it is not sufficient for public instruction to be only just informed what is the opinion of an author, or of the person, who sits in judgment upon him, whether he agrees with or differs from the author criticised; for the public wants further information, wants evidence and reasons why one opinion is preferable to some other; without this a mere combat between opinions tends to no advances in knowledge, but either leaves the public under its former uncertainty, or adds still a greater uncertainty by some new opinion being started without any evidence to support it.

In two former Letters I have given examples of both these defects in modern criticism; I shall now take notice of a third defect, which is, that even when some reasons and evidence are produced in

support of any opinion, they are generally such as are servilely copied and retailed from former writers, without the force of them being duly weighed; and often also with some assertions *added* to them, which either are not true, or if they be true, certainly weaken, and sometimes altogether destroy all the force before contained in such reasons and evidence. Of this defect I will, in like manner, notice an example which happens to lie before me: to criticise whole books, or to stem the torrent of false criticism, are Herculean labours; but it may present some useful information to others if we occasionally examine particular subjects and the remarks which have been made public concerning them. Mr. Hurwitz, master of a Jewish academy, near London, has lately, to his great credit, published a book to facilitate the study of the Hebrew language, more particularly among those of his own nation: in this he had occasion to mention the antiquity of the present Hebrew letters in which the Jewish scriptures are writ; and is of opinion that they are the most ancient ones ever made use of by the Jews, notwithstanding that other learned Jews, even in the most ancient times, have been of a different opinion, and asserted that the Samaritan and Syrian letters were the original ones, in which their scriptures were writ, and that the present Hebrew letters were first introduced by Ezra. Modern Christians of learning have been equally divided in their opinions, on this subject, as the Jews themselves. Now as to which of these two opinions is entitled to most credit I do not undertake to determine: something rational has been urged on both sides, and it

requires a very comprehensive view of the subject to balance the evidence, so as to pronounce as to which preponderates on the whole. But a late writer, in his account of this book, has adopted the opposite opinion to that of M. Hurwitz, and has also given his reasons for it, which I here transcribe.

"The arguments of the author are not original, and he has not stated the opposite arguments in full strength. His reasonings to prove that the present Hebrew letters are of pristine antiquity we must pronounce incompetent: and he will feel our objections at once, when we ask him what he would have thought and said had *these* letters, and no others, appeared on the public coins of the Maccabees, Simon, &c. who were priests as well as civil rulers, and who most surely cannot be suspected either of defective knowledge or of any inclination in favour of heretics? *These priests* (he would have said) *used the priestly or sacred letters.* Let him then give this fact its full force in favour of the Samaritan type."

Now here we may first observe, that if Mr. Hurwitz's arguments are not *original*, so neither is this of his examiner, but a hackneyed one as old as the age of Scaliger, that is, 200 years ago: and if M. Hurwitz has not stated the *opposite* arguments in their full strength, so neither has his examiner stated even his own argument in full strength; but, on the contrary, has had the same misfortune as has often happened to repeaters of old tales, that is, that it was a good story when he heard it, but he unfortunately spoilt the whole in repeating it: for we shall

find that, as I observed before, he has himself *added* something which is not true; and has also *added* something, which, if it be true, yet weakens at least, if it does not altogether destroy, all the force of his argument. As a proof of these defects, he says, "that *Samaritan*, and not *Hebrew*, letters have appeared on the coins of the *Maccabees*, *Simon*, &c. who were *priests* as well as civil rulers." Here the whole is in the plural number, and readers must necessarily conceive that coins have appeared of several other *priests*, among the Maccabees, beside Simon, for he adds, &c. "But this is not known to be true; no coin has ever been discovered with any other name upon it than *Simon;* some indeed have been found with no name upon them, but as they have similar types upon them with those having the name of Simon, i. e. some sacred utensil of the Jews, or a legend, in Samaritan letters, applicable only to Simon, such as *the liberation of Israel*, no person ever before ascribed any of these coins to any other *priest* among the Maccabees, except *Simon only*." Thus far he has *added* what is not true; but he has moreover *added* in the argument, what if it be true, helps to weaken and destroy it. For Scaliger and others, who at first made use of this argument in favour of the *pristine antiquity* of the Samaritan and Syrian letters, on account of their being found on coins struck by the Jewish rulers themselves, had no knowledge that the name of *Simon* was to be found on any of them; nothing more of the legends had been deciphered in their time than a Samaritan S on some, and on others an

S followed at a distance by an *N*. Hence they concluded that these were the first letters either of *Samuel* or of *Solomon*, and that all the others were coins of some of the Jewish Kings *before* the seventy years of captivity: now if this had been true, *their* argument was a good one, that these very ancient coins with Samaritan letters proved the *pristine antiquity* of the Syrian before the Hebrew letters; and Scaliger even pronounced those to be *insane* who should think otherwise. "Visuntur hodie *Sicili*, qui quotidie Ierosolymis effodiuntur, et *sub regibus* Iuda in usu fuerunt; in illis nummis eædem literæ incisæ sunt, quæ in scriptis Samaritanorum leguntur, et putare veterum Hebræorum alias literas fuisse quam quæ in illis nummis visuntur et *quæ sub regibus* Iuda in commerciis erant, extremæ est insaniæ. *In Euseb. animadv. Apud Ann.* 1617. Now the above dissentient from M. Hurwitz has entirely spoilt this argument of Scaliger, by adding that the coins in question were not struck until the time of *Simon*, and other *priests*, in the age of the Maccabees; that is, almost 1000 years after Solomon, and about 400 years after there had ceased to be *any kings* at all among the Jews; and after so many revolutions had happened to the nation, by their being captives for seventy years at Babylon, and other calamities, that they had lost, in a great measure, even the use of their Hebrew language, and the ancient names even of their months; therefore, *possibly*, of their ancient letters likewise. After their return they were surrounded by Syrian nations for above 300 years, with whom they could not hold any communication, un-

less they could either induce the Syrians to learn the letters which they brought with them from Babylon, or else themselves learn those of the Syrians; and that they rather might do the latter is *probable*, because we find that they certainly then learned even the Syrian language; so that at last, in our Saviour's time, their current language consisted of as much Syriac as Hebrew and Babylonian mixed together, as is proved in the New Testament, where the few words of their then current language preserved there are all Syriac. In this state of facts how is it possible for any one to conclude from any proofs of Syriac, i. e. Samaritan, letters being then in use among them, that they were the same letters as had been *anciently* in use during the Jewish Kings, and not rather acquired from the Syrians *after* their return, just as well as the Syrian language during the 300 years of intercourse with them? This can only prove that they were used by the Jews at that time, and not that they had been in use 400 or 1000 years before any of the above revolutions had happened to the Jews. It is evident, therefore, that from the moment that the name of *Simon* was discovered on the coins instead of *Solomon*, the argument of Scaliger was totally at an end; and that if the fact *be true* that this name is found there, the mention of this, by the critic in question, can only prove his want of discernment, not the *pristine antiquity* of the Samaritan letters. I do not, however, mean by this either to affirm or deny the more ancient use of Semaritan letters by the Jews, but only that *this* evidence of their more ancient use has no

solidity in it, although selected by the writer in question as being alone a sufficient proof against the contrary opinion of M. Hurwitz. It is, in fact, the very same thing as if any writer, a thousand years hence, on finding a coin of G. III. with a legend, in Roman capitals, should hence conclude that the English had always used Roman capitals, and no others, from the most ancient times, ever since the conquest of the island by the Romans, notwithstanding the revolutions it had undergone in the times of the Saxons, Danes, and Normans; and yet we know that in general very different letters have been chiefly in use here, not only Saxon letters formerly, but even in the reign of G. III. smaller Roman letters and Italian letters, and in writings many different sorts, all which differ as much from Roman capitals as Hebrew letters do from Samaritan. In fact, also the *priests* at one hundred years after *Simon*, *&c.* used Greek capitals on their coins, which would just as well prove the *pristine antiquity* of Greek letters among the Jews, as those of Simon prove it concerning Samaritan ones; or rather prove only that in different ages different letters were in current use, just as antiquaries at present judge of the antiquity of MSS. by the different forms of the letters employed in them. One would wish then to find a more solid kind of criticism adopted in public judgments of new books, that we may at least advance in knowledge as we do in age.

Art. DCCXCI. *On the present State of Public Criticism.*

TO THE EDITOR OF CENSURA LITERARIA.

Sir,

As in my former letter I doubted of the discretion of the writer who made use of the argument there mentioned for the *pristine antiquity* of Syriac letters among the Jews, I ought, in justice, however, to commend his ingenuous conduct in not concealing from his readers the name of *Simon*, in order the better to conceal the weakness of his argument; and I must now accuse others of being less ingenuous and more guarded in this respect.

Who it was that first discovered the name of *Simon* on Jewish coins I cannot determine, but it certainly is mentioned as early as in the second tom. of the *Œdipus* of Kircher. That this was published *before* the Prolegomena of Walton, in 1657, I cannot affirm; but the name of Simon appeared certainly soon *after* in Hottinger's *Dissert. de nummis orientalium, p.* 144. (1662.) Walton therefore may, possibly, not be liable to the accusation of having intentionally suppressed this fact of the name of Simon being discovered on some of those coins, when he adopted the abovementioned argument of Scaliger in words, if possible, more peremptory and dogmatic than Scaliger himself. "Precipuum argumentum pro litteris Samaritanis, et quod *luce sua* evidenter hoc probat (cui nemo nisi qui luscus vel oculos claudit assentiri non possit) ductum est ex antiquis Sicilis et numismatis Hebræorum *ante Captivitatem* cusis, immo *ante defectionem* decem tribuum ex

ruderibus Hierosolymitanis olim et hodie effossis," c. iii.

To some other men of learning, however, this had then not appeared so clear *by its own light* as to entitle Walton to express himself so confidently; for Strickard, quoted by him in this very chapter, doubted of the antiquity ascribed to these coins by Scaliger, and doubted rightly, as has since appeared. He says, "Quod Samaritani residuum habeant *antiquam* Hebræorum scripturam, id nequaquam credo — nec quicquam hic illi *probat* sicli." *Bechinath, &c. p.* 82, (1624.) For how, indeed, could the use of Samaritan letters by the Jews, *after* their return from Babylon, prove the use of them *before* the captivity, unless also their use of the Syrian language, in *later* times than the captivity, prove, at the same time, their use of it *before* that event? And how can be reconciled what Walton says above with his following account of the currency of the Syrian language among the Jews in the time of Christ, "Ipsi N. Fœderis scriptores hac lingua (Syriaca) sibi *vernacula* Judæis et aliis circumvicinis populis cælestia oracula promulgarint—immo ipsi Salvatori *vernacula* erat, quam una cum lacte materna suxit---hinc multa verba in N. T. pure Syriaca, ut *Raka* in Matt. v. immo Domini nomen Ieovs est Syriacum (ܝܲܫܽܘܥ) et nomen etiam Messiæ, se *unctus*," c. 13.

How could it be expected that those who thus *spoke* Syriac should not also *write* Syriac, and write it in such Syrian letters as were current in that age? This only, therefore, has Simon done not above 140 years before Christ, out of the 586, between the captivity and the vulgar era; and can it be reason-

ably pretended that the Syrian *language* was drawn from one source, the *current* language of all the neighbouring nations, but the Syrian *letters* from another source, the *ancient* use of them by the Jews *before* their captivity to Babylon, and four or five hundred years before Simon?

If it be urged that his name is not on all the coins, this is true, and some may, *possibly*, be of later date, but none of an earlier one; as there is no evidence but that before his time all Jewish money passed by weight, and he first obtained from the Macedonian Kings in Syria a liberty to coin money, as mentioned in 1. Maccab. ch. xv. 6.

Beside this, most of those other coins which have not *Simon* on them have *the liberation of Zion*, which legend can only again apply to the age of Simon or *after* him; and their weight, size, form and types, are all so similar, as to indicate their origin in nearly the same age.

But although Walton might, possibly, have obtained no information of the name of Simon on those coins, (for, indeed, they are so difficult to read that scarcely any two orientalists agree in finding the very same letters; and, although the writer in question has been either so ingenuous, or so unguarded, as to tell his readers a fact, which destroyed his own argument,) yet the same favourable construction cannot be put upon the conduct of several others who, since Walton, have still adhered to the old argument of Scaliger, after the fact of the high antiquity of the coins adopted by him had been disproved by the *later* events and legends on them of either *Simon*, or *the liberation of Zion*.

Thus, for instance, Prideaux, so late as 1715, writes in the same confident strain with Scaliger and Walton. "The opinion of most learned men, and upon good grounds, is in favour of the *antiquity* of the Samaritan letters among the Jews; for there are many *old* Jewish shekels frequently dug up in Judæa with this inscription on them, in Samaritan letters, *Ierusalem Kedeshah*, i. e. Jerusalem the holy, which shews that they could not be the coins of the Samaritans themselves, who would not call Jerusalem *holy*; they must therefore be the coins of the two tribes *before* the captivity; this proves the Samaritan to be that character, which was then in use among them.—I think this argument from the shekels is unanswerable." *Ann.* 446, sect. 5.

But why must they have been coined *before* the captivity and not as well *after* it, even if they had had no other legend than *Jerusalem the holy?* And more especially still why suppress those other legends *Simeon* and *liberation of Zion*, which would have proved the date of the coinage in these at least to have been *after* the captivity? While that of *the Holy* was equally suitable to every age as well *after* as *before*. Why also suppress the fact that *some* learned men had, even *before* the discovery of those other two legends, expressed their doubts of the high antiquity given to them by Scaliger, as Strickard abovementioned, Kirche, and others, and *afterwards* Hottinger also in 1662, Buxtorf in 1662, and Stephanus Morinus *de lingua primæva* in 1694, "Præcedentes observationes abunde declarant *post* captivitatem potuisse nummos illos cudi," *p.* 266. Harduin also in *Chronol. vet. Test;* and the great

orientalist Reland, who, in 1702, wrote some tracts to explain the legends of those coins, yet never so much as hints at any of the coins being struck *before* the captivity; on the contrary he confirms the legends on them of *Simeon* and *liberation of Zion*, or else *from the Greeks*, and on others such dates as would bring them down 200 years *later* than Alexander, and fifty than Simon. Ottius also, who soon after opposed Reland as to these *later* dates, yet confirmed those others.

All this information, *before* 1715, Prideaux has suppressed, and pretended that *most* learned men judged the directly contrary; in which, although he was in an error, yet he was at least consistent in it, for he was cautious enough in his words to conceal every thing against his own error; but the present critic has both adopted the same error; and in the same moment by the name *Simon* exposed a proof against it to public view in the same sentence, and thus refuted himself; with *additions* likewise by himself, altogether destitute of proof, by putting *priests* in the plural and an *&c.* to the name of Simon. It has not, indeed been proved that they were *all* coined by him; but by what marks can it be proved that they were not? Especially, since it is certain, that the *types* were different under his successors.

Thus criticism goes on from bad to worse, and substitutes its own suppositions for actual truths; after which it draws conclusions as certain ones from its own previous and uncertain suppositions, while, at the same time, it rejects such conclusions as necessarily follow, even from the imperfect state of the

truths presented to us by the writer himself. Have I not reason then to lament the present state of public criticism, which can itself act in this preposterous manner, while it sits in judgment upon the labours and abilities of other writers? The critic, nevertheless, presumes that M. Hurwitz will *feel* the force of his objections, in which, however, one can *see* nothing but inconsistency both with himself and truth: and this produced *by his own additions and stated facts.*

But beside its being so natural and easy for the Jews *after* the captivity to learn the Syriac letters along with the Syriac language, there was another reason which would induce them to impress those letters on their coins, independent of their being so well known to themselves as well as to all the neighbouring nations: that is, the great religious scruples they had adopted against applying what they esteemed *holy* to common and vulgar uses. Not only was Jerusalem holy, but the language of their scripture was holy, and even the letters in which it was writ were holy likewise. The most ancient writings of the Jews, extant, repeatedly call the Hebrew letters *scriptura sancta.* Wherever also the name of *Jehovah* occured in their scriptures, they would neither pronounce it nor write it, but change it to *Adonai*, lest it should be profaned by vulgar use even among themselves.

The same religious scruples would prevent them equally from impressing the *holy* Hebrew letters upon coins to be profaned by the hands of all the heathen nations around, beside that other nations knew nothing of their forms any more than of the

sense of Hebrew words, and even not many of themselves in the age of Simon. So that when he began to coin money, he would scarcely employ Greek letters, as it would be a badge of his being still in subjection to the Greeks; and to make use of Hebrew letters would be liable to the abovementioned objections. What letters then could he use so well as Syriac, which were free from these objections, and better understood both by the Jews and others?

Instead then of the use of Syrian letters by him, or any *later priests*, being a proof of the use of them *before* the captivity, it is only a proof of their having become as common among the Jews 300 years *after* the captivity as the Syrian language was also. It still continued in *some* use, on their coins, down to the age of Christ; but after the subjugation of the Jews by Alexander, and the assumption of the title of *kings*, the high priests had assumed Greek names, and, by degrees, they began then to make less use of Syrian legends on their coins, for they afterwards employed Greek capitals, as M. Barthelemy has shewn: some few Syrian letters, however, were still found on the reverses, while Greek capitals were used on the obverses. This again indicates that Syrian letters had not been impressed at first on account of their *pristine antiquity*, but on account of the convenience of their use in more modern times, for they were again changed for Greek letters, as soon as the Greek tongue and convenience better recommended Greek letters; which in this case again the Jews, in course, learned along with the Greek language, just as before they had learned Syrian letters along with the Syrian language; and

these two acquisitions as naturally and necessarily accompanied one another, as school-boys now learn Greek letters along with the Greek language.

Such *seems to have been* the true state of *facts;* but whether it was so cannot be proved, however, with respect to the *causes* of them; concerning which we can only form probable conjectures, and not proofs. Now these are so far from confirming the opinion of the critic in question, that the Jewish priests would be induced to impress Hebrew letters on their coins, because they were the *original holy* letters in which their sacred scriptures were writ, that this on the contrary would be with them a direct obstacle to their use in the legends of their coins, and is a supposition as unsolid as the several facts which he has supposed, in like manner, but which are certainly not true. S.

Independently of the reasons already alleged why the examiner of Mr. Hurwitz's book has urged no solid objections to the antiquity of the present Hebrew letters, unless he would have produced some better one than that drawn from Samaritan letters being found on Jewish coins struck in so late an age as that of the Maccabees, four hundred years after the cessation of kings in Judah, there is still another fact which sets aside still more all evidence derivable from that source, and which is, that there is no sufficient certainty of any of those coins having been actually struck even so early as the age of Simon the Maccabee, but, on the contrary, convincing evidence, that some of them at least, and, possibly, all of them, were not coined until after the

reign of Trajan, two hundred and forty years later than Simon abovementioned. It may, indeed, be true, that the examiner might not know of this fact, since it is but a recent discovery ascertained only within these twenty years, and but little known in Britain; as the article on this subject, writ by M. Barthelemy happened to be published during the first scenes of the French Revolution, when the public here were too intent upon the strange political events then going forward in the world to give any attention to revolutions in literature, namely in 1790; and I believe that very few copies of the *Journal des Scavans* for that year were imported here, which contained Barthelemy's letter upon this subject, that *Journal* itself having entirely ceased in 1792. I will, therefore, give a full account of all the circumstances relative to this discovery, extracted partly from that letter, and partly from the *Memoirs de l'Academie* for 1713, tom. iii. intermixed with my own remarks, where I have found any particulars deficient or erroneously stated in those French accounts.

In 1713 a M. Henrion communicated to the French academy a silver coin discovered in the cabinet of M. de Pontcarrè, at Rouen, of the ordinary size of such silver coins as were current under the Roman Emperors, which plainly appeared to have been first struck with the usual type and legend found on other coins of Trajan, and in Roman capitals, some of which were still visible both on the obverse and reverse: but since that first type it had been superstruck with another type and legend in Samaritan letters, having on one side a

lyre with the words *Chirout Iroushelem*, the *liberation of Ierusalem*, and on the other side a bunch of grapes with *Schemoun* inscribed, i. e. Simon. It happened that the remains of several of the former Roman capitals had become still visible, by the second impression having been but partially made over the surface of the coin and so as not to cover it completely, thus leaving a small vacant space between the outward edge of the second impression and the original edge of the coin; on which vacant space the Roman capitals, or one half of them, were still plainly to be seen, and expressing part of the usual legends on Trajan's coins. Hence Henrion contended that this and all the other coins, commonly ascribed to Simon the Maccabee, were, in reality, not struck by him, and not until the reigns either of Trajan or Adrian his successor, two hundred and forty years later; he therefore thought it probable that those coins were struck by the Jewish impostor Barcochebas, who, in the reign of Adrian pretended to be the Messiah, and whom the Jews then actually acknowledged as their *king*. This Henrion confirmed by the following reasons added to the evidence of the coin itself, that it had not been struck until during or after the reign of Trajan. "1. That, as Barcochebas lived two centuries and a half later than Simon the Maccabee, it was more probable for his coinage to be now preserved than that of Simon, and Scaliger has expressly affirmed from the testimony of some Jewish Rabbin, whose name he has not quoted, that Barcochebas did actually coin money. 2. That no coin has hitherto been discovered either of Jonathan, the brother and predecessor of Simon,

nor yet of Johannes Hyrcanus his son and successor: the former, indeed, is to be little expected, as it was not until the reign of Simon himself, that the privilege of coining money was extorted from the Macedonian kings of Syria; but that his successor, Johannes, should not have continued to make any use of the privilege so valiantly obtained by Simon, and so much valued by the Jews, seems to be unaccountable; and equally so that none of them should now be found, when so many of Simon's are discovered frequently, more especially since Simon reigned only eight years, whereas Johannes reigned thirty-one years. 3. That according to the best deciphering of the legends on the coins ascribed to Simon, there are found on them the dates of the first, second, third, and fourth years, but no later dates; now these dates agree to the duration of the rebellion by Barcochebas, which was three years and a half, as Jerom informs us. The Jewish Rabbins, indeed, say longer, and Eusebius less, but either he, or Jerom, might mean after Barcochebas was acknowledged by the Jews as King and Messiah, or else they might mean the mere duration of his war with the Romans in Judea; whereas the Rabbins might mean from his first secret preparations for rebellion to the end of all such commotions in Egypt, Lybia, and elsewhere, after the capture of Barcochebas himself by the Romans; for they relate also that his son, for some time, succeeded him. Now, that Simon the Maccabee should coin money only during four years of his reign out of eight, suits less with the duration of his reign than with that of Barcochebas.]'

Yet notwithstanding these reasons urged by Henrion, all the French academicians rose up in arms against this new opinion, and the coin which supported it, just as if it had been a heresy in literature. Some said the coin might not be genuine; yet they could not deny but that the form, size, and other circumstances, were perfectly similar to other silver coins of Trajan: others allowed it to be genuine, but contended that the legend of Trajan had been superstruck over the type and legend of Simon, not contrariwise; yet mere inspection proved the contrary, as one half of some of the Roman capitals were obscured just so far as the type of Simon reached them. Others said that the Roman capitals had been formed on the vacant space of the coin by an engraver; but then the letters would have been indented, not raised up, higher than the surface of the coin. Accordingly, the chief opposer of Henrion placed no dependence on any of these objections, but acknowledged the fact that a coin of Trajan had been superstruck by a type and legend of Simon; this, however, he pretended to have been done by some curious Jew in that reign, when the real coins of Simon were almost worn out and become scarce; on which account, in order to preserve the memory of them, he caused a coin of Trajan to be superstruck with the same type and legend, as had been found on some real coins of Simon, merely in order to preserve a specimen of those ancient and almost defaced ones. This conjecture he attempted to support by asserting that no ancient author has mentioned any such fact as that Barcochebas had ever coined any money [this, however, is not true].

Another of his objections was that according to Scaliger, and others, these Jewish coins have been generally found buried in the ruins of Jerusalem, which had been destroyed by Titus in the seventieth year of Christ, almost fifty years before the rebellion of the Jews, under Barcochebas: how then should the coins of Barcochebas be found buried under those ruins? they must have been coins more ancient than that seventieth year to be buried there [but we shall find that there is no more strength in this support than in the former ones]. It was further urged, that it does not appear by any ancient accounts that Barcochebas was ever in possession of Jerusalem; how then should his coins be found there chiefly? [But this assertion is equally untenable]. Urged by such unsolid and frivolous subterfuges as these, the French academy refused to acknowledge the evidence of a plain fact, that the coin in question, with the name of Simon on it, was not struck with that type and Samaritan legend until the reign of Trajan, therefore, probably, by Barcochebas, during his rebellion in the succeeding reign of Adrian; and thus prejudice, arising from a former mistake in opinion, prevailed over the obvious evidence of the eyes and senses concerning the coin in question.

Under this sentence of condemnation the matter has rested until the years 1781 and 1790; in the latter of which M. Barthelemy published a letter in the *Journal des Sçavans*, with an account of further discoveries on this subject. He there informs us, that the above coin of Henrion is still extant in the cabinet of the Abbè de Tersan, that he has examined it, that its type on one side is a bunch of

grapes with the Samaritan letters *u* and *n*, the probable remains of *Shemoun*, formed round it: on the other side a lyre, around which are the letters which, according to the opinion of all orientalists, form the two words which denote the *liberation of Jerusalem*. Besides these the following Roman capitals are visible round the lyre TRAI---P.M. TR. P. COS. Around the bunch of grapes may also be distinguished these — R. OPTI---INC. the whole apparently had been as follows: *Trajano--- Pontifici maximo---Tribunitia potestate consuli--- S. P. Q. R. optimo principi;* which is the very same legend as is found on many of Trajan's coins, and some vestiges of a head may also be still traced *under* the type of the lyre. Yet all these proofs of this coin having been originally one of Trajan's were superseded in 1713 without any sufficient evidence to the contrary; but the fact has been since confirmed, beyond doubt, by the discovery of other coins of the same kind. For M. Barthelemy, in this letter, further informs the public, that when Bayer was about to publish at Madrid his tract *De numm. Hebræo-Samaritan.* in 1781, M. Woidé, author of the Coptic Lexicon, sent to him an account of two other silver coins of a similar kind, which he had discovered in the cabinet of Mr. Hunter at London, and which account Bayer accordingly annexed to this above tract. One of these has on one side a bunch of grapes, with the name *Simon*, in Samaritan letters; on the other side is a palm tree with the legend *liberation of Jerusalem*, both superstruck on coins of Trajan, one having also some remains of a *Greek* legend, such as is ge-

nerally found on other coins of that Emperor, giving him the titles of *Augustus*, *Germanicus*, Dacius, and *Consul the fourth time*. Since this Barthelemy has himself found, in the collection of Abbè de Tersan, a fourth coin, superstruck like the others, having on one side a bunch of grapes with these three letters *o*, *u*, *n*, of the Samaritan legend still visible round it, being the last of the name *Schemoun*, and beside these the Roman capitals T R—i. e. *Tribunitia*—; on the other side the same Samaritan legend *liberation of Jerusalem* round two columns; on the right side of which may be seen just peeping out two leaves of laurel, which seem to have been the end of a laurel crown; of which may be discovered also the knot by which the crown was tied close to the outline of a head, which the second impression has covered and rendered invisible. Nevertheless, one may still recognize that it was the head of Trajan by several marks, which it would be too long to point out here.

Such is M. Barthelemy's account of these late discoveries: let us then consider the conclusions to be drawn from them. He says, "that the legends hitherto found on any of these Jewish coins are one or other of these, *Simon, Prince of Israel*,—first, second, third, or fourth year—*Liberation of Jerusalem*, or else of *Israel*, or *Redemption of Israel*, or *Sion*, which legends seem to be all relative to the same event: was this event then under Simon the Maccabee, or two hundred and forty years later, in the reigns either of Trajan or Adrian? Much may be said on both sides."

In order to avoid prolixity, I shall not translate

here his statements of both sides of the question, as I shall afterwards enumerate them along with my own statements. His conclusion from the whole is this "amidst the probabilities, which justify one or other of the above opinions, I had rather propose questions than undertake to resolve them; and in hazarding the following remarks it is rather done in order to procure more proper ones from others, which may serve to throw some light upon the subject. It is only those coins, with which we are now concerned, that were formerly attributed to Simon the Maccabee, whether they have his name upon them or *have not*:* but certainly the public has been hitherto deceived in ascribing the same origin to all of them; and we must now distribute them into different classes, as M. Woidè also has proposed in his letter to M. Bayer. The fabric of *some* of them is conformable to that of the coins of those Syrian kings who lived in the second century before Christ, which includes the time of Simon the Maccabee, [*i. e.* 140 *bef. Chr.*] but there are *others* on which the letters of the legends are so inverted, disfigured, and transposed, that they seem not to have been struck until the second century *after* Christ, when the artists began to be no longer conversant with Samaritan letters. There are, *thirdly*, other coins among them, on which none of those marks occur, which characterize one century rather than any other; to which, therefore, we cannot assign their

* Here Barthelemy confirms what I mentioned in a former letter, that those coins of this class which had not the name of Simon on them *were* yet ascribed to *Simon only*, as well as the others, which have his name.

proper age and class until some new discoveries have been made to assist us."

"As to the *second* class, abovementioned, those coins of Trajan which have been superstruck with Samaritan types, it is more easy to assign to them their right age, than the event, which was the object in view: all the four of this class hitherto discovered mention the *name* of Simon, and also of the *liberation of Jerusalem:* concerning these then we must conclude on one or other of the two following facts; either that in the second century of Christ the Jews then were governed by some prince of the name of Simon; or else that they then modelled their coins according to the mode of their more ancient coins in the age of the Maccabees. In favour of the former of these conclusions it may be observed that M. Henrion has confidently given the name of Simon to Barcochebas, but I have never been able to find any ancient author who testifies to his name being Simon; so that I judge it more reasonable to have recourse to the *second* member of the alternative proposed with respect to the second class of coins as abovementioned."

"According to this *latter* supposition then we know that under Adrian the Jews attempted to shake off the Roman yoke, just as their ancestors had shaken off, under Simon, the yoke of the Greek kings in Syria. Such similar circumstances might naturally inspire a similar hope; and in order to excite that hope the more warmly among them, their chiefs might have thought that no better method could be devised than to stamp their current money with the name of Simon, and such other inscriptions

as might assist in perpetuating his glory: for as the current coins of the first epoch, those of the Maccabee chiefs, attested the success which had attended their attempt; so these coins, thus struck at this second attempt against the Romans, served as a kind of promise of success again. In 1749 I read to the French Academy a memoir, in which I shewed, among other things, that some use was still made of Samaritan letters on Jewish coins, although in a less degree, down to the fortieth year before Christ; and that it might, possibly, have been continued down to still later times, at least, on public monuments: accordingly the above coins, superstruck in the reign of Trajan, with Samaritan letters, prove that the use of them did actually subsist so late as the second century after Christ. It was, however, in a less degree; for, in some coins which I produced in that memoir of the two Alexanders, kings of Judea, after the high priests had assumed the title of *king*, we find on the reverses the legend of *Johannes Rex* on some, and *Jonathan Rex* on others in the Hebrew language, and Samaritan letters; while the obverses have Βασιλεως Αλεξανδρου in Greek capitals. So also a coin of Antigonus, the last king before Herod, has Βασιλεως Αντιγονου in capitals, on the obverse, but *high-priest*, i. e. *Kohen Gadol*, on the reverse, in Samaritan letters." This practice of assuming Greek names, in addition to the Jewish names, was begun by Aristobulus, whose Jewish name was Judas, the grandson to Simon, and the first high priest who assumed the title of *king*; except that his father, *Johannes*, had commonly obtained the additional name of *Hyrcanus*, but we do not know that

he ever styled himself so, as I believe that no coins of him have been as yet discovered, although he ruled the Jews thirty-one years. M. Barthelemy has shewn also that such double names were in use among the Phenicians likewise in *tom. 30 of Memoires de l' Academ.* In my next, I will balance the testimonies on both sides of the question concerning the supposed antiquity of the coins, with the name of Simon on them, some of which M. Barthelemy has represented in a more favourable light as belonging to Simon the Maccabee, than the evidence can support.

ART. DCCXCII. *On early Jewish Coins.*

TO THE EDITOR OF CENSURA LITERARIA.

SIR,

IT has been shewn, in my last letter, that Barthelemy has distributed all Jewish coins into three classes. 1. Those which he conceives to be attended with *some* evidence of their having been coined by Simon Maccabee. 2. Those which were certainly not coined before the reign of Trajan. 3. Those which have no marks whereby it can be ascertained in what age they were coined. It is proposed then to balance the evidence for or against each of these three classes.

Now, as to the *third* of them, we have to observe, that Barthelemy hereby acknowledges that the legends and types on many of them will just as well suit with the rebellion under Barcochebas against the Romans as the emancipation of the Jews from the Greeks under Simon the Maccabee: of this na-

ture then is the *liberation of Israel*, and also the dates of the first, second, third, and fourth years; for although that rebellion lasted only about four years, yet as Simon did not obtain the right of coinage until near the middle of his reign of eight years, there could not be more than four years also to be dated afterwards by him in case Simon reckoned them from the first year of coinage, and not from the first of his reign; but as we cannot know which of these two methods he adopted, this circumstance of the dates, therefore, contains no mark in favour of either age in question in the first and second classes: except that in 1 Maccab. xiii. 42, and xiv. 27, the dates are from the *accession*, which makes *against* these being his coins.

As to the *second* class it appears that there are only four coins which are known with certainty to belong to it: and in regard to the *first* class, if we cannot find any mark which can enable us, with equal certainty as in the second class, to determine whether any one of those coins has a right to be included under the *first*, then it follows that all the Jewish coins, except the above four, ought, in reality, to be included in the *third* class, and that this distribution, into three classes, is imaginary and delusive. One would have expected, therefore, that Barthelemy would have pointed out some marks whereby those of the *first* class might be distinguished from the *third*; yet all that he says on this head is this—"There are some coins, which, by their fabric *(fabrique)* being conformable to the coins of the kings of Syria, in the second century, *before* Christ, *may* go back, *(peuvent)* so far as to the age

of Simon Maccabee; there are others on which the letters are so inverted, disfigured, and transposed, that they seem not to have been struck until the second century *after* Christ, when the workmen began to be no longer conversant with Samaritan letters."

But all those coins examined by Reland and Ottius, which, if any, they thought to belong to the age of Simon Maccabee, have their letters as much disfigured as any others whatever; for any person, therefore, to pretend that it is possible to distinguish between the disfigurement arising from the incapacity of the artist, and that from the corrosion of time and the deficiencies of parts of letters, by their being worn away, is again all imagination, not any actual and certain marks of difference. It is, in fact, only by comparing several coins together that any of the legends can be deciphered, the letters worn away in one being ascertained by some other; and no one legend can be read by itself alone, as those two authors acknowledge, and Barthelemy also himself: and as to transposition, this is often found even in Greek inscriptions of the best age: but before it can be ascertained that there is any such transposition in these legends, it is necessary to know what the word *would be* if written without any. Now this is very difficult to know, as is evident by the different words, which Reland and Ottius pretend to read on the very same coin, one finding the word *Zion* where the other finds *the Greeks;* and still further by the very different words arising from the disjoined letters there found, if differently combined together into words, as appears again from the discordant readings of the above two authors; for one

finds a date of *224th year* on a coin where the other finds *fourth* year only. What the properties are, which Barthelemy includes under the word *fabrique*, introduces still further uncertainty, especially as in another place he calls it *module*. If the *size* is one of them, or the chief of the properties included under *fabric* and *model*, then so far as has been hitherto ascertained by representations of those coins by Reland and others, it does not appear that the size of those ascribed by them to Simon Maccabee differ any way materially from those certainly struck under Trajan; or if there be any difference it has not been pointed out in books, and ought to be stated more precisely before we can admit that uncertain word *fabric* or *model*, to become a sufficient mark whether it was coined under the Syrian kings, or two hundred years later, under Trajan; so that Barthelemy should have told us by what species of medallic sagacity he could smell out this difference as to the age in which a coin was struck by means of the *fabric*, as he expresses himself, the meaning of which he ought to have explained, and what are the constituent parts of it; at present it may mean just what any one fancies.

There are, indeed, some coins of a larger size than the rest; but in general these have been reprobated as spurious, and if not, yet it is only the difference in the fabric of the smaller ones, such as those examined by Reland, and those struck under Trajan, on which the determination must depend. Therefore before any conclusion can be drawn any way from this mark of antiquity pointed out above by Barthelemy, a clear account must be given, as to

what articles of fabric the four of Trajan differ from all the rest; and whether any of the remainder differ so much among themselves, that those ascribed by Reland and Ottius, or others, to Simon Maccabee, have a fabric of antiquity clearly different from the rest of them; remembring also that even those smaller ones of Reland are of such different *weights*, if not *sizes*, that Ottius says, "some of them weigh half an ounce and a quarter part more, others not quite a fourth of an ounce, others still less." *p.* 85.

Now amidst such differences as these it would be curious to know what peculiarity in point of *fabric* alone will prove any one of them to be more ancient than the others. Until this be better known the word *fabric* seems to mean nothing else than *medalic imagination;* just as the readings of the legends sometimes do likewise, although in less degree, as for instance where Reland and Hottinger read the sense of *illic bonum*, Ottius finds the name *Simeon*, (p. 83), and *Zion* instead of *the Greeks:* how can Barthelemy find coins of such different weights to agree all to the *fabric* of royal Syrian ones?

But even if such faithful sensations of antiquity can be acquired by long habit, as shall enable one to distinguish by their *fabric* such different coins struck at two hundred years from one another; yet why might not Barcochebas, in the reign of Adrian, form coins, which were yet, by accident, only similar to the *fabric* of coins by the Syrian kings, while he therein imitated the coins of some of those free cities then existing in Syria, which were chiefly current in Asia; and which free cities might have preserved the *fabric* of those of the Syrian kings, whose

kingdom ended only 170 years before Barcochebas, to which the establishment of free cities succeeded, called *autonomies*, under the protection of the Romans. Now, however these cities might alter the legends and types of Royal Syrian coins before current, yet they might preserve the former size, or *fabric*, and intrinsic value, still the same, for the convenience of commerce, together with other constituent parts of the *fabric*, whatever these might be; and these Barcochebas might imitate for the very same reason,—the convenience of having his own coins become readily current, in order to procure necessaries for his army. His coins, moreover, might not be formed by himself in Judea, but by the Jews, his associates, in *different* parts of Asia; for they were all in commotion from one end of Asia to the other, and even in Egypt and Lybia. Some sent money, and some men, and they would, doubtless, send the money if coined by themselves, in such a form as would make it readily pass current, rather than invent a new and different *fabric:* but it would be very extraordinary if in *all* those friendly cities every one of them should, in the space of 170 years, have altogether altered the fabric of the coins issued before under the Syrian kings; or that although coming from such different and distant parts of Asia they should be all alike in *fabric*, legends, or types. Some of those Jewish coins then having *Simon* on them might hence resemble, in fabric, the coins of the Syrian kings, without having been actually struck *during* the existence of those kings in the second century before Christ; and thus this circumstance of the similar fabric of the coins does not

alone become a sufficiently distinguishing mark whether they were struck under Simon Maccabee or Simon Barcochebas, as Barthelemy pretends: and this is the *only* mark which he mentions as being able to prove that *any one* of the coins in question belong to the *first* of his three classes, and to Simon Maccabee, not Barcochebas. So that without some better proof, his first and third class ought to be ranged together as being both of them equally doubtful with respect to their age of coinage; and thus there are, in reality, only two classes.

There is, however, another circumstance which, although not mentioned by him, may be considered by others as a mark of difference in point of antiquity, and which is, the great *variety* of types upon those coins; this may be thought to indicate that they could not be *all* of them coined by Barcochebas in the short space of his reign of four years or less; but must have been struck in several different reigns in the 240 years between Simon Maccabee and Barcochebas. But this mark of difference I have obviated already, since that diversity might have been caused by the coins being struck by different bodies of Jews, in many different and distant parts of the world, who sent money to the assistance of Barcochebas in Judea.

It may, indeed, be still suggested, that not only are the types different, but even when the very same objects are represented, such as the pot of manna, or Aaron's rod budding, scarcely any two of them are alike in form; but this again might be produced by the very same cause as before; for different persons, in different regions might happen to agree in

exhibiting the same sacred utensils on the coins, and yet give them very different forms; since not any one of them might know, in the age of Barcochebas, what the real forms had been, it being then sixty years since those utensils had been carried away to Rome by Titus, and exhibited at his triumph there. Nay, such a diversity is more likely to have happened thus under Barcochebas than under Simon Maccabee, for during his last four years of reign, after he had once fixed on a suitable type, what motive could he have for changing it so often in that short space of time? Those which have different types, indeed, may have been formed by some of his successors, but even the same types give different forms to the same utensils, even when they have all the name of Simon on them, and also have the letters of the same legend differently formed; and sometimes, moreover, one has a letter in the same legend, not found in any other of the same type and legend. Thus the fourth letter, in the first of Reland, before the end, is the fifth letter in his second coin, before the end of the same legend; which, if not a mere error of the artist, gives such a different *sense* as proves it, at least, to be coined in a very *distant time* from Simon; and if it be an error of the artist only, then it proves that no conclusion can be derived from such errors and transpositions in letters concerning the *real age* of the coinage. Now such variations as these in the same types, or such diversity in the types themselves, might just as well be caused by the coins being struck by different bodies of Jews, in different nations, in the same short reign of Barcochebas, as by different artists in different reigns

among the successors of Simon: but whenever such diversities appear in coins having the name of Simon on them, they are thus more easily accounted for under Barcochebas than under Simon the Maccabee, or, at least, just as easily; so that no conclusion can be drawn hence either way toward arranging such coins in different classes, as if formed in different ages. There is one further circumstance, however, which makes rather in favour of all these coins belonging to Barcochebas; this is, that no coins have been found of Johannes Hyrcanus, successor to Simon, although he reigned thirty-one years, and Simon only four, after having obtained the right of coinage. Did then Johannes renounce the privilege, or have all his coins perished, although such various ones of his predecessors have been preserved? At least it has not occurred to me that any such have been ever discovered; if there have, it must have been of late years in the collections of Pelerin, Bayer, or later ones; and if any coins of Johannes are to be found there, it is to be wished that some person, who has had opportunity to consult those collections, would inform the public of it in your publication, that we may obtain some new grounds for consideration. Until then we must conclude, that if Johannes did coin money, he *may have* preserved the types, and, possibly, the name of Simon on them; so that some of those, now in our possession, may really belong to Johannes. But this is mere conjecture, and it is more probable that they have all perished, therefore that those of his predecessor Simon have perished likewise; and thus that

the coins so generally now preserved belong rather to Barcochebas, who lived 240 years later.

This conclusion is strengthened by another fact; for the successor to that Johannes was Aristobulus, as he called himself by his Greek name, although his Jewish name was Judas. He was the first high priest who assumed the title of *king;* but he reigned only one year, and was succeeded by Alexander Jannæus. Now Barthelemy mentions that of late years a few coins have been discovered with the name of Αλεξανδρου Βασιλεως on the obverses, and on the reverses having, in Syrian letters, either *Cohen-Gadol*, i. e. *high priest*, or *Johannes Rex* on some, and on others *Jonathan Rex*, so far as he has been able hitherto to decipher the legends; but they are all so corroded and defaced, that he is in doubt as to which of those two Jewish names, in Samaritan letters, is upon them: if then so few of these *later* coins have been discovered and this of *late* only, owing, possibly, to some circumstance favourable to preservation; and if even these are uncertain whether belonging to Alexander Jannæus above fifty years after Simon, or to a later Aristobulus Alexander, in the time of Herod, 150 years after Simon; if so few of these, and these so much defaced, have been preserved, and those of Simon's immediate successor, Johannes, *all* perished, is it probable that so many of Simon, himself, *before* Johannes, should be preserved and in so much better preservation than those of *any* of his successors? For indeed even those of Antigonus, the last king before Herod, although found in more plenty, are yet all more or less defaced

[toutes plus ou moin defacès.] I doubt, therefore, that *all* those coins hitherto ascribed to Simon Maccabee ought rather to be arranged under Simon Barcochèbas, or, at least, that *none* of them are entitled to be included in the *first* class, as being, with any certainty, of an earlier age, or any way whatever distinguishable from those doubtful ones which form the *third* class of Jewish coins, and which may, possibly, *all* belong to Barcochebas likewise. Thus the only cause why some of them have *Simon* on them, while others, nearly with the same types, have not that name, may be, because he was not at first acknowledged by the Jews as king; but when he was so he then assumed the title of *Simon, Prince of Israel*, on his *subsequent* coins. Yet even here we may discover one *other* fact in favour of these coins belonging *all* to him, which is, that he styles himself *Prince of Israel;* whereas, in the book of Maccabees, Simon is always styled *Prince of the Jews*, Ιουδαιων; which title, as it might seem to exclude the scattered descendants of the kingdom of Israel, for this reason Barcochebas might prefer that *of Israel*, that he might equally ingratiate himself with these, and thus unite those of both kingdoms under this more extensive and general name.

Hitherto we have examined only whether *any one* of the coins, in Barthelemy's *first* class, commonly ascribed to Simon Maccabee, has any marks which can give to them a claim to an earlier antiquity than those in the *third* class. It remains to inquire whether those of a doubtful age, in the third class, have any marks which are *less consistent* with the later age

of Barcochebas, under Adrian, than with that of Simon 240 years before.

Now, among the objections which may be started against all of this third class, belonging to Barcochebas, one is what has been urged by Barthelemy himself, that although Henrion positively gives the name of Simon to Barcochebas, yet he has produced no authority for it, neither is it known that there is any author extant who attributes that name to him. This is, indeed, true; but then neither is there any author extant who mentions what his Jewish name was originally; for as to Barcochebas, it is well known to be only a fictitious one: no one then can affirm that his name was not Simon; but how many names of eminent Romans, their wives, or sons, have, in like manner, not been mentioned by any authors now extant, in respect to what are called their prænomens? And yet, afterwards, they have been brought to light by means of medals of them discovered in modern times, on which their prænomens, and other names, have been all enumerated. The very same may be the case here, and these coins may have recovered the original Jewish name *Simon*, which had before been buried under the appellation of Barcochebas.

Scaliger informs us, from some rabbinical and doubtful authority, that his name was originally *Cotsiba*, which, if ever so true, might, however, be only a secondary one, of which frequent examples occur among their high priests and others; thus the name of Caiaphas had Josephus prefixed to it. This objection then has no weight; nay, even sup-

posing that Simon had not been the real name of Barcochebas, yet it would still be of no force; and Barthelemy himself has already given a sufficient answer to such an objection in my last letter, in suggesting that he might wish to represent himself as a second Simon: but it might, very probably, be his real name; for Barthelemy has shewn also, in my last, that the Jewish name of Alexander Jannæus was hitherto unknown; yet it now appears from some of his coins, discovered of late, to have been either Jonathan or Johannes.

Another objection which may possibly be started is, whether there be any testimony of Barcochebas having ever actually coined any money; this, however, Barthelemy does not dispute against the assertion of it by Henrion, but refers us for proof of it to Basnage, in his Hist. of Jews, book vi. ch. 9. Now, as I have no opportunity of consulting Basnage, it were to be wished that any person who has, would communicate in your publication what Basnage says on the subject. I can therefore, at present, only refer to the authority of Scaliger, who quotes such a fact from some rabbinical author, but does not mention who his author was. "Cochebas est *Stella* apud Hebræos, sed frequentius dicitur Bar-cocheba *filius Stellæ*; Judæi vocant eum *filius mendacii*, quum ejus verum nomen esset *Cutsba*, quomodo *vocata est moneta ejus nomine cusa*, sed ipse voluit se *Cucheba* vocari postquam tyrannidem arripuit. In veterum Judæorum commentariis scribitur "Ben Cuziba, qui vocatus est Ben Cocba se gessit pro Messia: Ideo vocatus est Ben Cochba (id est filius Stellæ)

quia deprehendit de se dictum esse *Perrexit Stella ex Jacob, &c.*" [Animadv. Euseb. p. 215.]

Basnage may possibly inform us from what *Jewish commentary* these words are quoted. Now if the coins of this impostor were so well known among the ancient Rabbins, that they gave them the name of *Cutsba*, what has now become of them that no such coins should be known at present either by the Jews or Christians? This induces a suspicion that the coins of Simon are these very coins of Barcochebas, and which were, in more ancient times, well known to have been manufactured by that impostor, or, at least, that some of them are of that class which it becomes, therefore, necessary to distinguish with certainty from the others, before any safe conclusions can be drawn from any of them; and there might have been also still another reason why he impressed the name of Simon on what were coined by himself; for this was the name of that Jewish chief who defended Jerusalem against Titus, but being taken was carried to Rome along with the sacred utensils, and after being led in triumph was put to death. The recollection of this event, thus renewed on coins, by the types of those sacred utensils, and the name Simon, would become another incentive daily present to the Jews to excite them to revenge against the Romans. The name of Simon, therefore, was, on several accounts, well suited to the occasion, and to the types of sacred utensils impressed upon the coins; moreover, as the types on the coins of some of the successors of the Maccabees were very different, as Barthelemy has shewn, namely, one or

more cornucopias, and an anchor, wheels and crowns; this confirms that sacred utensils had not been types generally employed by the Jews and derived from the practice of antiquity, but rather adopted on some particular occasion; and none could be more suitable to those types than the recollection of their having been within sixty years before all carried away to Rome and profaned by heathen hands in vulgar uses. It is, however, true, that no sacred utensils are found on those four coins certainly coined after Trajan; but Ottius, at p. 83, reads, Simeon on a coin, with sacred utensils, and Reland a different word: the above four nevertheless have other types, which are suitable to the event of Barcochebas, viz. a bunch of grapes on one side on all of them, while on the other one has a lyre, two others a palm tree, and the fourth two columns. The variations here even in four of them only having the name of Simon, and similar variations on others, which have not his name, prove that the subjects of the types cannot serve alone as marks, whether any coin is to be ranked in the first class or the third. The types, however, on those four, although different, yet may admit of as proper an application to the event under Barcochebas as to the age of the Maccabees, and possibly a more proper one. For a bunch of grapes was a fit symbol of that plenty of wine, corn, and oil, which the Jews universally expected under the Messiah; and, although the sacred utensils might have been the first types employed in order to excite the Jews to rebellion, yet when he was once acknowledged by them as king and Messiah, he might then first begin to affix his *name* and *title*,

and the grapes as a symbol of his Messiahship; which was, indeed, so firmly considered by the Jews as an indication of the advent of the Messiah, that Christ himself refers to it when he says in Mark xiv. "I will drink no more of the fruit of the vine until I drink it new in the kingdom of God;" and the miracle of water turned into wine served the same purpose of a proof to the Jews of that advent. That the same was intended here by the bunch of grapes we cannot affirm, but it is, in some degree, supported by the palm tree on other coins: that tree, indeed, was the common symbol of Judea, and as such appears on coins of Titus struck in memory of the capture of Jerusalem: but the palm trees of Simon are different; they are represented as so full of fruit, that the branches bend down low enough for persons, standing under them, to pluck the fruit with their hands and fill baskets with them; yet the palm is a tall tree, and the fruit scarcely ever grows very low. There could not be a more fit symbol of the plenty expected under the Messiah. The lyre again might serve the same purpose of expressing the *harmony* which, under Barcochebas, would not subsist between Judah and Israel, just as the title of *Prince of Israel*, assumed on other coins, instead of *Prince of the Jews*, and the two columns, on other coins, might denote this happy union of those two kingdoms. That such was the intention of those types I cannot assert, and only mean to shew, that they might have as apposite an application to the age of Barcochebas, if not a more suitable one, than to that of the Maccabees; so that no conclusion can arise against their belonging all to Barcochebas from

the *subjects* of the types impressed, any more than from the *diversity* in them; which diversity is so conspicuous in those four coins, alone, struck under Trajan, as removes still more clearly any evidence derivable from these circumstances toward arranging any of the coins, either under the *first* class or the *third*, any more than from the *name*, or other *legends*. A similar diversity is found in the types of Greek coins relative to the very same events; variation seems, in those ages, to have been every where the order of the day, and every artist invented just as he chose for himself: but it would, with greater probability, happen during the extensive influence which the insurrection, under Barcochebas, had over the whole body of Jews, however dispersed, in distant and different nations, than under the contracted government of Simon and Maccabee, during which no variation could take place except by his own express direction. Now, at a time when coinage was so novel, uniformity was rather desirable than diversity, that distant cities might know whose coins they were which were tendered to them in commerce; whereas those under Barcochebas might be coined by different bodies of Jews, in distant nations, some of whom sent money to him, and some men; but who could not have conferred together to agree either upon the same *subject* for a type, or the same *form*, for it, even if they did, by accident, coincide in the same subject; neither after sixty years could there be many Jews, then living, who could remember what the real form of the pot of manna, or any other sacred utensil, had been, as they must then

have been above seventy years of age; hence that diversity in forms!

So far as we have examined hitherto we have been able to discover no mark whatever, which is able to appropriate any one of the coins in the *first* class any more than in the *second* to Simon Maccabee rather than to Barcochebas, whether they have the name of Simon upon them or have not; but on the contrary have found several circumstances to be rather favourable to the claim of the impostor than the Maccabee chief, although indeed none of them so decisively, as in the case of the *second* class. We have seen also that even if any argument can be drawn from the *diversity* in the types and the different forms of the same utensils, yet it can be less probably accounted for in the short space of four years reign by Simon after coinage, than in the same space of four years under Barcochebas.

Possibly however it may be still suggested, that such diversity might arise from similar though not exactly the same types, and also even similar legends of Simon, &c. having been continued by the successors of Simon down to the extinction of that race of high priests. But neither will this remove the difficulty; for Simon was succeeded by his son Johannes Hyrcanus during thirty-one years, and the latter by his son Aristobulus during one year, who first assumed the title of *king*, and was succeeded by Alexander Jannæus: so that there were only

thirty-two years from the death of Simon to the accession of Alexander. Now under Alexander it appears, that the types were *different*, namely an *anchor* on one side and a kind of *wheel* on the other with *Jonathan high-priest;* thus there was only a course of thirty-two years in which that diversity of form could arise, and this chiefly under the same high priest Johannes Hyrcanus, even supposing the fact of which we are ignorant, that he continued to impress similar types and legends with Simon, and did not change them during his whole reign as his successor Alexander certainly did.

Now the Jewish historian Ganz quotes from R. Abraham "quod juxta ejus verba protractum fuit regnum Cuzibæ et filiorum ejus per 21 annos ante internecionem apud Bither [ap. ann. 880]." Buxtorf adds either copied from Ganz or by both from some rabbinical relation that 4,000,000 of Jews were slain. [*Synag. Jud. c.* 50.] This is doubtless Jewish exaggeration, but even this shews the great extent of that insurrection in Asia, Egypt and Lybia. Buxtorf adds also that Adrian besieged Bither 3½ years, and this may be what Jerom and others meant, when they confined the whole time of the insurrection to that short space instead of the siege of Bither.

There was then still greater room for diversity in the forms of types on coins, struck by these Jews in different nations during this insurrection than during the abovementioned thirty-two years in the confined limits of the high priests in Judea: and it must certainly have required a large sum of money to maintain the army of Barcochebas, which was probably

sent from different nations, where when the Jews could not obtain a sufficiency of the money current there, they were compelled to coin other money out of their own precious effects to send to Barcochebas. Diversity then again is no proof either way.

If any coins of Johannes Hyrcanus have been preserved this will ascertain whether he did in reality preserve the name of Simon and similar types on his own coins or not, just as the successors of Alexander of Greece preserved his head upon their coins after his death. But I have already mentioned that no coins of Johannes are known to me as having been hitherto discovered, unless some of those with the name of Simon rather belong to Johannes in reality. Barthelemy also in his letter seems to me to confirm, that no coins of Johannes Hyrcanus have ever been discovered; but those who have access to the book of Bayer can still better ascertain this fact. For at present I can only observe, that when Barthelemy mentioned some coins with Βασιλεως Αλεξανδρου on one side and *Jonathan* high priest on the other, he adds that Bayer doubted whether the name was not rather *Johannes*, "for, says Bayer, we have coins absolutely like them in regard to the *metal*, *model* and *types*, with the name of Johannes on them:" but he does not add whether they had also both the same Greek *name* and *legend* or not as those of Barthelemy; *type* will scarcely include *name* also.

Who then did either Bayer or Barthelemy suppose the *Johannes* in question to be? They could not suppose it to mean Johannes Hyrcanus, be-

cause Barthelemy couples it with the name of *Alexander king* in Greek capitals, and the title of *king* had not been assumed until after the death of Johannes Hyrcanus. It must then have been some later high priest of the name of Johannes, which has hitherto laid hid under the Greek names of these *kings*, and possibly either Alexander Jannæus, grandson to Simon, or else a later Alexander, 150 years after Simon: as both of them then are quite silent concerning Johannes Hyrcanus, this *seems* to imply, though not indeed with absolute certainty, that neither of them knew of any coins of that Johannes surnamed Hyrcanus the son of Simon; and Barthelemy proceeds moreover to prove by other coins, that he had rightly read the name *Jonathan* and not *Johannes* as Bayer suspected.

If, however the coins referred to by Bayer with Johannes on them did nevertheless refer to Johannes Hyrcanus in his own mind, yet this at least follows thence, that in this very next succession to Simon under his son, Jewish sacred utensils were no longer in use on Jewish coins, but an *anchor* and *wheel*: hence again the *diversity* found on those coins in the forms of the utensils could not have arisen from their being the work of different artists in a *long succession* of different reigns; but are more probably to be accounted for by their being coined by different bodies of Jews in different nations during the insurrection of Barcochebas.

As then this circumstance of *diversity* makes *every way* rather in favour of Barcochebas than of Simon, so there is still another circumstance, which makes it still more strongly in favour of the impostor;

which is, that the title of *high priest* has never yet been discovered among the other legends on those coins, and this is very extraordinary if any of them were in reality the coins of Simon: for we find him in the book of Maccabees always called *high priest* as well as *Prince of the Jews*; it was indeed the former which gave him claim to the latter, and it was by the Jews considered as a situation of so much dignity and importance, that one could never expect to find it altogether sunk and forgot by himself under the title of *Prince of Israel* only on any coins or contracts relative to his own subjects.

In 1 Maccab. xiii. 42, we read "In the 170th year the people of Israel *began* to write in their instruments and contracts—In the first year of Simon the *high priest*, the governor and leader of the Jews —again in xiv. 27—in the 172d year being the third year of Simon the *high priest*, &c."—In xv. 1. likewise "Antiochus sent letters to Simon the priest and prince *of the Jews*, beginning with *Antiochus the king to Simon the high priest and prince of his nation*, &c. and repeatedly in other places down to the last verse, where it is said that Johannes was made *high priest* after his father. Now that this title should not be found on coins of Barcochebas is no wonder, for he never was high priest although the Jews had made him *prince of Israel*; and in the above quotations it is observable also that the years are numbered from the *accession* of Simon to be high priest, not from his obtaining a grant to coin money, which is not mentioned until some time afterward in xv. 6. "I give thee leave also to coin

money for thy country with thy own stamp:" so that there is no proof that the date of 4th year on the coins can mean from the time of obtaining the *right* of coinage; which leaves an important question to be still answered, why no later dates have been discovered, in case these coins were struck by Simon and reckoned from his *accession;* but with respect to Barcochebas that question is easily answered, because he might reign no longer than four years from the time of his being acknowledged as *prince of Israel.*

It does not however appear to be quite certain, that the dates of 1st 2d 3d and 4th years are actually to be found on those coins ascribed to Simon; for though Ottius reads them so, yet Reland does not: and in fact there are so many other circumstances left in doubt by the writers on this subject as renders any conclusions very uncertain; such doubts however are no more unfavourable to Barcochebas than to Simon Maccabee.

But with respect to the title of *high priest* being never found inscribed, Barthelemy himself could not help noticing this fact, although he afterwards forgets too much its importance in balancing the evidence " on doit l'etre d'avantage *surpris* de n'y pas voir le titre de *grand pretre*, qui lui attiroit tant de respect, et qui suivant les passages, que je viens de citer [*de* 1 *Maccab.*] paroissit dans *tous les actes* émanés de lui *(Simon)*." *p.* 829, *du Journal.* To which we may add further, that Barthelemy himself has shewn above that this title is found also on the real coins of the kings Alexander and Antigonus at even 150 years after Simonand in Samaritan letters on the

reverses, notwithstanding that the more important title of *king* is found on the obverses and in Greek capitals. The fact then that Barcochebas was not high-priest, although made prince of Israel, can alone account for the omission of the former when the latter title occurs on those coins, this being the only instance in which these two titles did not belong to the same person, for the Herods never adopted either of them.

It was urged still further against Henrion as an objection to these being the coins of Barcochebas, that as they are chiefly found in the ruins of Jerusalem, they must then have been deposited there *before* the destruction of that city in the seventieth year of Christ by Titus; but the insurrection under Barcochebas did not happen it is said until the eighteenth of Adrian, nearly sixty years afterwards. Now in answer to this objection it must be remembered, that a new city was built by Adrian and inhabited by Greeks and other colonies sent there, which has since been all destroyed in its turn as well as the Jewish city: who then can determine at present, even if they were inclined to distinguish between the two ruins, whether the coins are found among the ruins of the old city or the later one of Adrian; probably there is not a single house now standing, which was erected in the reign of Adrian, and that the two ruins are so intermixed as to be no longer distinguishable, without which this objection amounts to nothing. An addition therefore has been made to it, that it does not appear by any ancient author that Barcochebas was ever in possession of Jerusalem. So far may be true, but no

objection follows from it, for it is certainly related that he fixed his residence and army at *Bither;* now although it may not be quite certain where this town was situated in Palestine, yet Eusebius says, that it was not *very far distant from Jerusalem* [των Ιεροσολυμων ου σφοδρα πορρω διεστωσα] (4. 6.) which is quite enough for our purpose; for the money of a large army will always chiefly find its way to the chief city; and it is the same thing whether it was dropt by the soldiers themselves or by those who had received it from them for necessaries. Eusebius confirms that the Romans slew μυριαδας of these rebels, which means strictly several multiples of 10,000, but it is often used indefinitely to signify *an infinite number:* it appears also by him, that *Bither* was a strong position, for he calls it οχυρωτατη, whereas all the defences of Jerusalem had been levelled with the ground by Titus; which was a sufficient reason for his choosing to fix himself in a stronger place, yet it does not follow hence that he was never in possession of Jerusalem by himself or by some part of his army.

These are the chief objections against the coinage of Barcochebas, none of which have much force; while there are three facts strongly in his favour: Ist that the ancient Jews well knew of his having coined money either by himself or his friends, to which they gave his name of *Cuziba,* and of which Basnage may possibly have given some further information: 2dly, that four of those coins are now proved to have been struck since the accession of Trajan, which are therefore probably four of those

very coins called *Cuziba* by the ancient Jews, and having the name on them apparently of *Schemoun*, but more certainly the *liberation of Jerusalem* on the reverses: 3dly, that many others have either the same name *Schemoun* or else the *liberation of Jerusalem* or both legends, which must therefore be reasonably deemed of the same coinage as those other four, and consequently belong to Barcochebas; this affords a presumption of all the others, although having not those legends, yet that they are of the very same species, if they have as *types* a representation of any of the same objects relative to the Jews, as what are found on those with the above *legends* on them. Thus *all* the coins in question seem to belong to Barcochebas, but one class of them at least almost certainly so, i. e. the second class.

There are indeed some difficulties concerning these coins, yet not sufficiently cleared up by Reland, Ottius and others; but possibly Bayer may have removed some of them at least, and if not, yet they equally affect either of the two opinions concerning the *age* of coinage, therefore make no more in favour of one than the other. Such as the difficulty of determining with absolute certainty the powers of the letters, and also that words are to be formed out of them. Hence it is not sufficiently proved, whether the dates of 1, 2, 3 and 4 are on any of them together with other such doubts relative to the legends.

But such doubts seldom occur, as tend to prove a coin to belong rather to Simon than to Barcochebas, therefore are of no importance to our present inquiry whether settled one way or another; in some

few cases however they possibly may affect this inquiry, of which I can at present recollect only one example, where Reland reads *liberation from the Greeks*, and Ottius with others *liberation of Zion*, the words denoting *Greeks* and *Zion* differing in the Syriac very little from one another. If *Greeks* be the real word it would afford a good proof of that coin belonging to Simon the Maccabee; but in the present uncertain reading of that legend it can prove nothing. Hence it appears, that wherever such doubts as these occur, no proofs either way can be founded upon them and they are totally foreign from the subject: as are also all disagreements between writers concerning what sacred utensils are thought to be represented on the coins, and arising from the defaced condition of these coins, which different persons may wish to supply in different modes; for if they be all really Jewish utensils it is of no moment whether they be cups of thanksgiving or pots of manna; and either way they no more prove any thing in favour of the age of Simon than of Barcochebas.

But there are other doubts also subsisting concerning some articles, which are of more importance to our inquiry by being relative to the size, weight, value and *fabric* of the coins; for we have seen, that this has been the *only* evidence, upon which Barthelemy attempts to adjudge *some* of the coins to Simon rather than to Barcochebas; but he has not pointed out any one coin in *particular* of this kind, which he thinks to have a *similar fabric* to those of the Syrian kings in the second century before Christ; which too general assertion then leaves us still

totally in the dark either how to confirm or how to oppose this pretended proof of antiquity in *some* of the coins.

All or almost all of those coins which have *Simon* or *liberation of Jerusalem* on them are of bronse, and are very different from those shekels mentioned by Prideaux, which are of silver, and larger, being almost of the size and value of half a crown with *Jerusalem the holy* on them; but which legend by being equally suitable to every age can prove nothing either way concerning the time of their coinage, and most of these are also now esteemed to be forgeries of Jews of later ages. Reland himself says in his third letter to Ottius, "Gaudeo eatenus inter nos convenire, quod nec hi nec ulli veterum 'Hebræorum nummi' *ante* Maccabæorum tempora sint percussi, quodque *sicli isti* et alii nummi literis Hebræis quadratis insigniti, qui magno numero circum ferentur omnes pro adulterinis sint habendi," *p.* 95. Here *isti* must refer to the *sicli* mentioned by Ottius in his own letter, whose words are "omnes nummi Samaritani (exceptis siclis argenteis, *si modo veri dentur*) ad Maccabæorum tempora referri possunt," *p.* 82.

Now except the four coins in silver superstruck on Trajan's coins, all the rest which are mentioned by the above authors are in bronse, unless it be one of Ludolf's, the legend on which is read by these authors so differently, that it proves nothing; it is possible however that Bayer may have since produced some others of silver with *Simon* on them; which if they be of the size of shekels, like that of Ludolf, let us attend to what Ottius likewise says

concerning these "Argentei, qui Siclorum nomine veniunt, dubiam hactenus apud me fidem invenerunt, ex duodecim, quos oculis manibusque tractavi, vix *unus* est, quem originalem indubiè agnoscere possim," *p.* 53. We have no concern then with any but those in bronse, which are of a much smaller kind.

Reland has engraven four or five, and all apparently of the same *size*, which coins he declares that he considers as genuine, if any are so. But Ottius produces other four, having similar legends and types with those of Reland, and these he describes as being of very different *weights*, and to so great a degree, that some are but half the weight of others; can they then be all of the same size? or could those of Reland be so? when Ottius declares that his own resembled those of Reland so much that "in nummo minore, qui mihi secundus est, ei in Relandina dissertatione tres nummi priores respondent," *p.* 65. And again "In tertio meo, qui vestro, ut opinor, quarto respondet, &c." *p.* 75. Or could those of Reland be all of the same weight or value? Notwithstanding that Ottius declares of his own bronse ones that "Cum appendissem N°. 1, observavi Semiunciam una cum quarta parte pendere: Alterum N°. 2 non plane quartam unciæ: N°. 3 minus."—Colligemus ergo majorem N°. 1 esse *Semigera* (Judaica) et 40 talibus æneis ad conficiendum Siclum fuisse opus—et N°. 2, qui *tribus tuis* respondet non plus valverit quam *as minutus*, vel assarim—qua comparatione facta pro Siclo tales 120 postulentur: N°. 3 arbitramur esse *quadrantem*

de quo servator dicit, *non exibis donec reddideris εσχατον κοδραντην.*" *p.* 86.

Such then being the different *weights* and *value* and consequently different *sizes* of the four examined by Reland, and the four by Ottius, what marks are there on these, by which Barthelemy can discover that they are of a *fabric* more conformable to the Syrian coins in the age of the Maccabees 140 years before Christ, than to that of Barcochebas 100 years after Christ? Might not the same Jewish weights long remain alike?

Similar differences doubtless subsist between all those other bronse coins, which have the types and legends of *Simon* and *liberation of* Jerusalem on them, so far as respects the constituent parts of their *fabric;* so that it seems not possible to judge of the age of their coinage by their present fabric in their present worn and debased condition, in which it is as difficult to determine exactly what their types are, as what their legends are; and still more difficult to judge of their age by comparing the *fabric* of these Jewish coins with Greek ones. We must therefore conclude that Barthelemy had no good coins distinct from the *third* class of them, which includes all those of an uncertain age; they being all equally uncertain except the *four* in his *second* class, coined indisputably later than the accession of Trajan 100 years after Christ.

But although their *fabric* can contain no evidence whatever of their age, yet I have pointed out that there are other articles in their legends and types, which appear to be more favourable to the age and

circumstances of Barchochebas than to Simon the Maccabee; especially since all the others resemble in so many particulars to those four now known with certainty not to be coined before the reign of Trajan, and also since written evidence, as quoted by Scaliger, has preserved an account, that Barcochebas both did coin money, and also that it was well known to be his by some ancient Jews, of which coins however no knowledge now subsists unless these, erroneously ascribed to Simon Maccabee, be the coins in question, called by those ancient Jews, *Coziba*, after the name of that impostor.

I may add that the legends are not always expressed by the same Syriac word signifying *liberation*, but sometimes by two other Syrian words, of nearly the same sense, such as *vindication of Zion*, *redemption of Zion*; now this is another circumstance in favour of the age of Barcochebas; for beside so many *diversities* in the *types* what motive could Simon the Maccabee have in the short space of four years to employ also such different *words* in the *legends*, and all of them nearly synonimous? But this variety is more easily accounted for, if the coins were struck by different bodies of Jews in different cities of the Roman empire; for every one knows that it is scarcely possible to get different bodies of men to agree exactly in the same things when it depends altogether on their own will and pleasure, even supposing them to have had perfect knowledge of one another's inclinations and opinions.

As a further confirmation that the sacred Jewish utensils and the bunch of grapes were quite proper

symbols of the advent of the Messiah, I may quote what Buxtorf relates on this subject, namely, that there were ten signs of that advent generally current among the Jews; of which the sixth was "quod tum Messias regem romanorum bello persequetur et *sacra vasa*, quæ tanquam thesaurus in Imperatoris *Œliani* [the name of Adrian was Œlius] ædibus reservantur, Hierosolumam referet," *c.* 40 *Synag. Judaic.*—Then also the Messiah was to give a *grand feast* to all Jews whatever, and that beside provisions of every kind of animals the "generosissimum et præstantissimum *vinum* bibetur, quod in Paradiso crevit, ibidemque adhuc in Adami cellâ vinaria reservatur." *Ibid.* This last opinion they founded upon those words of Psalm 75, "In the hand of the Lord there is a cup, and the wine is red, and he poureth out of the same;" so that the type of the *cup* on some coins may refer to the same expectation as the bunch of grapes on others. To the same expectation also may the palm tree be referred, agreeably to the 92d Psalm, "The just one shall flourish as a palm tree."

The above traditionary sign of the advent of the Messiah, by *the recovery of the Jewish sacred utensils* preserved in the treasure house of the Emperor Œlianus, seems as if it had been founded at first upon the expectation of the Jews in their insurrection under Barcochebas, of their being able to recover those *sacred articles* at that time under that Emperor of the name of *Œlius;* and points out a weighty reason why such sacred utensils might be adopted on their coins as types suitable to the occasion. It was likewise to the above *grand feast* by

the Messiah expected by the Jews when he arrived, that Christ referred, by the words quoted before from St. Mark, and of this the *marriage*-feast in Cana, at which water was made wine, might appear to the Jews as a percursive type and symbol, to shadow out and ascertain to them the fact of the Messiah being actually come in the person of Christ to hold the *grand feast* expected by them in the above tradition. To the same tradition and expectation of the Jews were those words of the governor of the feast accommodated when he said to the bridegroom *thou hast kept the best wine until now*, agreeably to the tradition that in the feast of the Messiah the wine would be *præstantissimum*.

This general extensiveness of these traditions among the Jews confirms the propriety of the bunch of grapes on the coins of Barcochebas as a sign of his being the Messiah; which could not indeed be doubted by any when Rabbi Akiba, who had 24,000 scholars, said to him *en ipsum regem Messiam!* and also applied to him the prophecy concerning the Messiah in *Numbers*, "a star shall arise out of Jacob and a sceptre out of Israel," for which reason he assumed the name of Bar-cochebas, *son of the star*, as above-mentioned by Scaliger.

To the same purport might tend that type of the coins in question, which so frequently occurs of *Aaron's rod budding*, as affording a representation of the *sceptre* predicted. All these circumstances seem to unite together in ascertaining these coins to have been *all* struck during the rebellion under that impostor, by all the types as well as legends being so suitable to that occasion, although varied in so

many different modes; a fact, which they at least prove much more securely, than the Samaritan letters found employed there can prove the use of Samaritan letters by the Jews above 1000 years before, as the examiner of Mr. Hurwitz pretends.

Where we cannot obtain demonstrations, we must be content with probabilities; and we have found Barthelemy himself judging it to be *probable*, "that all the coins related to the *same* event, those, which have not the name of Simon, as well as those which have:" if this then be probable in case that event happened under the Maccabees, it must be equally probable, in case the *omission* of the title of high-priest and several other circumstances rather preponderate in adjudging that event to be the insurrection under Barcochebas. S.

ART. DCCXCIII. *Confirmation of the meaning of the word "Tye."*

TO THE EDITOR OF CENSURA LITERARIA.

——————"He was a man
Of an unbounded Stomach, ever ranking
Himself with Princes: one who by suggestion
Tyed all the kingdom."

SHAKSPEARE, HENRY VIII.

SIR,

THE excellent illustration* of the word *tyed* in the above passage, by your correspondent S. may be, in some degree, supported by the following stanza from a poetical tract, mentioned by Mr. Beloe,† as

* In the article of Gusman Hinde and Hannam outstripped, 1657. See CENS. LIT. Vol. VI. p. 295.

† Anecdotes of Literature, Vol. I. p. 399.

holding a place in the Garrick collection, entitled "A Dialogue betweene the Comen Secretary and Jelowsy, touchynnge the Unstablenes of Harlottes."

"*Jelowsy.*

"She that can no counsayll kepe,
And lyghtly wyll sobbe and wepe,
Laughe agayne, and wote not why,
Wyll she not sone be *tyced* to foly?"

It seems plain from the orthography of the word here used for *enticed*, that the etymology of the verb *to entice*, which Dr. Johnson declares to be uncertain, is the same as that of *to tie (teogan)*. The syllable *en* is a subsequent arbitrary addition, such as is often used in forming a verb from a substantive without changing its termination, as *slave*, *enslave*, *rich*, *enrich*, *&c.*; and indeed many persons, of provincial education, use the word *tice* for *entice* to this day. Or, perhaps, Shakspeare actually wrote *tyced* in the passage in dispute: a single letter is all that the word we have wants, to become so.

Farrar's Building, Inner Temple,
February 7, 1808. BARRON FIELD.

ART. DCCXCIV. *Etymology of the word Entice.*

TO THE EDITOR OF CENSURA LITERARIA.

SIR,

WITH respect to the word *entice*, mentioned by your correspondent, although Johnson had not discovered its origin, yet, in case it was derived from the Saxon, there is another root in that language, beside *Teogan*, from which it might have descended just as well; this is *Tihban*, to *persuade*. I do not,

however, find any examples which might induce us to conceive that either *g* in the one, or *t* in the other, were ever changed into *c* or *s*, so that it is only possible either way. However, I am persuaded that *entice* was not derived from the Saxon at all, but from the French word *enticher* to *stain*, *spot*, or *corrupt;* and formerly, not improbably, it might in French have signified *entice;* which, however, is now changed to *inciter;* yet, if not, it might acquire in time this sense in English, as there is but a thin partition between being *enticing to evil*, and being *stained or corrupted with actual evil.* As the past participle *entiché* means being *corrupted*, the present participle *entichans*, when in use, would naturally mean *corrupting;* and if the French now use only the *past* participle *stained and corrupted*, why might not the Norman English have retained in that word only the *present* tense, as meaning *corrupting*, that is, *enticing* to evil?

As to the derivation of *enticher* in French, it appears from Lacombe's Dictionary of Old French, that it was formerly spelt with an *e* instead of *i*. Thus he says, *enteché* means *entiché*, *souillé*, *sali;* and this leads us to discern the origin of it. He gives this example:

> "Pardone moi tous mes péchés
> Dequels je sui fort entéchés, FABRY.
> Pardon me all my sins
> With which I am much spotted."

Now Pelletier, in his Dictionary of Bas-breton, says, that *Taich* with them is the French *tache*, *spot*, *a natural or moral defect;* and he adds that M. Rous-

sel writes it *Tech, vice;* and also *Di tech, without vice.* Hence, it appears, that *enticher* has been changed from *entecher*, and this from *entacher*, to fill with *spots*, and that *en* is a necessary part of the word, just as in *attacher* and *de-tacher;* which is a further proof that *entice* does not come either from the Saxon *Teogan* or *Tihtan*, (since it every where carries *en* as a mark of its origin along with it,) but from the French, in which such prepositions are common. *Tice* then, in English, can be only an abbreviation of *entice*, as was very common in old versifications, in order to have a foot less in a word, which occurs repeatedly in the old versification of the Psalms, and elsewhere; thus *hests* for *behests*, and *spie* for espie.

In regard to the French word *tache*, *spot*, Menage takes no notice of its origin in his etymological dictionary, but it is undoubtedly not from Saxon, but a Gaulish corruption of the Latin *tactus*, just as in the verbs *attacher*, *detacher*. The substantive itself, *Tach*, still remains in the Bas-breton, as Pelletier says, to mean *a nail;* but I believe that it is now lost out of the French: it is preserved, however, in Spanish where *Tacho* means also a *small nail*, as *Tack* does in English; that is, it denotes the means by which one thing is *tacked* to another *(tacta.)* Now, because the heads of nails appear like *spots* upon surfaces, hence it came to signify also a *spot*, as a secondary sense of the word, and thus a *stain*, or *contamination*, as a third sense, either of a natural or moral kind. Scaliger, in his *Conjectanea* on Varro, observes, "In Gallia vocunt *Tac* hoc est *maculam* vel nævum, ab ea similitudine a clavis, qui tanquam

nævi in plagula sparsi sunt." Pelletier is clear that it is not originally a Celtic or Breton word, but imported there from the Gaulish language, which we know was corrupted Latin in part, just as *Patch* with us was formed from the Latin *Patagium*, and in a similar sense, but which is neither to be found in Celtic or Gothic: so neither is *tache* to be found in *this* sense in any Gothic language except French, which confirms its derivation from Gaulish and corrupt Latin. *Tasche*, indeed, now writ, *Tâche*, runs through all Gothic languages, German, French, Dutch, Belgic, English, &c, in its own proper senses, which are two, either to mean a *Task*, or else a *Purse* or *Pocket*; but this is quite a different word from *tache*, a *spot*: so that it has had a gradual change from *tacta* to *tac*, *tache*, *taich*, *tach*, *tech* and *tich*, and thus gave origin to *en-ticher*, *entice*.

S.

ART. DCCXCV. *Observations on the Third Report of the Commissioners for making new Roads in Scotland.*

TO THE EDITOR OF CENSURA LITERARIA.

SIR,

SOME extracts having been lately published of the *Third Report* of the Commissioners appointed by Parliament for making new roads in Scotland, and relative to the survey of Scotland made soon after the Rebellion in 1745, by the direction of William Duke of Cumberland, I find there several facts asserted concerning that survey, which are altogether destitute of foundation; and, I presume, they can

have arisen only from the Commissioners not having received their information from authentic sources: the extracts are to this purport: "The inconvenience, to which we were subject by the want of an accurate map of Scotland, as mentioned in our last report, caused us to inquire into the practicability of remedying the effect, and in this we have succeeded beyond our expectations, as it was discovered that his Majesty's library contained an original survey of the whole of the main land. This survey was commenced in 1747 under the direction of Col. Watson, then Assistant Quarter Master General there, and carried on principally by Lieut. Roy, afterwards a General, assisted by others, each of whom surveyed the districts allotted to him; they first surveyed the Highlands, and afterwards it was determined to extend the survey to the southern parts, the whole being on a scale of nearly two inches to a mile. The survey having proceeded from small beginnings is not strictly trigonometrical, but depending *chiefly* on the magnetic meridian, which experience has demonstrated to be peculiarly various in different parts of Scotland; and Leiut. Roy must have found it very difficult, in the then scarcity of known positions and authentic charts of the coast, to have combined the various *unconnected* parts of the survey in a manner worthy of such a *laborious and accurate* work. These difficulties, however, have been since, in a degree, overcome; and we have reason to believe that no labour has been spared in procuring information for the *adjustment* and improvement of the map, which we have employed Mr. Arrowsmith to copy and reduce from

the original survey with his Majesty's gracious permission. In order to render the map *correct* and complete in every respect, it has become necessary for Mr. Arrowsmith to form an extensive collection of new materials, to which we have contributed our best endeavours, by consulting Mr. Playfair, Professor in the University of Edinburgh, Mr. Jackson of Air, and several other scientific persons of eminence, in order to supply some of the most important particulars. The map, which Mr. Arrowsmith has produced, after two years labour, has received the unanimous testimony of its *accuracy* from all persons acquainted with the various parts of Scotland, and he is soon to furnish a *memoir* shewing the authorities on which *his map* is constructed, which renders it unnecessary to enter into any further detail of the *assistance* received toward a performance so honourable to the state of the arts and so interesting to the British public."

The Commissioners rightly call the survey a *laborious and accurate* work, but at the same time they have affirmed some facts concerning it which tend to diminish its credit, but which are altogether misrepresented. I can only hope that they proceeded from erroneous information, and were not calculated merely to enhance the *labours* of Mr. Arrowsmith's map, and the scientific persons connected with him: when he publishes the *memoir* abovementioned, we shall see what *corrections* have been obtained from their assistance; in the mean time I cannot perceive, by inspection, any deviations from the original survey, except apparently in one instance, concerning the propriety of which I much doubt, and hope the

memoir will demonstrate that it has been done with good advice.

As to the mistakes of the Commissioners themselves, when they object to the survey, that it is not *strictly trigonometrical,* I presume their meaning to be, that it was not made by the intersections of a long series of triangles. This is indeed true, and that would have been the most accurate method, but it was not adopted for very good reasons; such as when they rightly observe, "that the survey proceeded from small beginnings;" for nothing more was intended at first than to survey the lines of General Wade's roads, through the middle of the Highlands, for the use of the Duke of Cumberland, then commander in chief; which he found of so much benefit, that he obtained from the then ministry a grant of money to add to it a survey of the Highlands on the west coast in Rossshire, then one of the most disaffected parts of the country, but now, so happily are things altered, that the Rossshire militia is one of the best regiments in the service of their country. Afterwards further grants were obtained for further additions, but always piece-meal. Yet if it had been otherwise, a series of triangles was quite *impracticable* in the Highlands, where a person is confined in narrow valleys, not a quarter of a mile broad, surrounded with immense mountains, and where, from the winding of vallies round the mountains, together with the obstructions from woods, rocks, and precipices, it was generally impossible to see a quarter of a mile either before or behind. No other method therefore could be adopted than that of running lines through the wilder-

ness with as distant tsations as could be obtained, and measuring with a chain from station to station, after taking the bearings between them with a theodolite, which were duly registered in a *survey-book*, properly ruled for that purpose, and protracted in the subsequent winter upon rolls of large paper pasted together. The Commissioners then, who know the nature of the country, ought not to have mentioned in such an ambiguous phrase, however learned a one, a circumstance which others, who do not know the country, may construe as implying some defect either of the method employed, or the execution of it by those employed in it.

To this, however, the Commissioners have added another misrepresentation in saying " that the survey depended *chiefly* on the magnetic meridian." What the meaning of these enigmatic words are can be only guessed from what follows; " that experience has demonstrated it to be peculiarly various in different parts of Scotland." Let the variation of the magnetic needle be ever so different in different parts of that country, it has not the least connection whatever with the survey; which, as I have shewn above, was not made by bearings ascertained by the magnetic needle, but by the graduations on the limbs of the theodolites employed at the stations, and these *connected* together through the whole country by actual mensuration; from which stations all visible objects on both sides were fixed by the intersection of bearings taken from different stations. The Commissioners then surely ought not to have asserted, in their report made to Parliament, a fact, which is not true, and which they could have only obtained

from the idle reports of some spectators at the stations, who knew nothing of what they talked about: what may have given rise to such erroneous reports was probably this; a compass box was fixed on the top of each theodolite, capable of being easily taken off when wanted: the attention of the spectators was generally more attracted by that than any thing else, as they had never seen such a thing before, and some of them asked whether it was alive, on seeing the needle turn without being touched. Were these proper sources for Commissioners to draw information from in a report to Parliament? The compass box, was, however, occasionally used in particular cases: for in carrying the lines of survey through the principal vallies among the mountains, there occurred repeatedly small rivulets, which they call *burns*, descending from the hollows, between different mountains; it was necessary to ascertain the direction of their courses, and of the long hollows through which they flowed, which generally could not be seen from the low stations near the chief rivers, into which they ran: so that it often became expedient to clamber up to some eminence or precipice in order to take a view of the course of those burns, and of the hills which surrounded the hollows or *glens* belonging to them. But it was impossible, without the utmost danger to the theodolites, to carry them up to the top of those precipices; in which cases the compass box was taken off and carried in their stead, they having been purposely graduated exactly in the same manner as the limbs of the theodolites; and by their means the direction of those glens and burns was ascertained,

together with such representations of them in pencil, upon the *sketch book*, as the view of them presented This was quite sufficient for such uninhabited hollows between the mountains, and if the theodolites and measurements had been always carried up to the heads of all those petty glens, which are so numerous, I suppose that the survey would have been scarcely finished at this day. Yet such is the accurate account of the Commissioners to Parliament, and such is the justice which they have done to those employed in that *laborious and accurate work!* But beside registering in the *survey-book* all such bearings and intersections of distant objects visible on both sides of the lines of survey, a *sketch-book* was employed throughout the whole way, and after the bearings were entered recourse was had to the *sketch-book* in passing from one station to another; in which was delineated, in pencil, the face of the whole country around, the declivities and woods on mountains, bendings of the rivers, situation of villages, gentlemen's houses, gardens, and every thing else which could be better expressed by imitation than by words and bearings: so that if the lines of survey, by the theodolites, be called the body, the sketch-book may be called the life and soul of the survey; without this it would have been as tame and inexpressive as the plan of an estate, where a black line represents a hedge, and a wood is denoted by the word *wood*, or by such scratches of a pen as imitate nothing. I challenge the Commissioners to point out a parallel to the survey in his Majesty's library throughout the world, either for the great extent of it, or the minute accuracy of all the par-

ticular parts, but above all by the expressive representation of the face of that wild country; so that if a person bred there in his youth should return after a long absence in the East Indies and see that survey, he would immediately exclaim, "Ah, I behold again the face of my dear country, and the scenes of my youth; in that village, under that mountain, I was born; in that river I used to fish, in that wood to shoot roebucks, and upon that mountain to pursue the ptarmigans," and the whole would appear to him as if he was raised up in a balloon into the air to view and recognize the objects of his former acquaintance below. For this advantage, indeed, the surveyors were much indebted to the rising genius of Mr. Paul Sandby, then a youth; yet if the surveyors had not in their sketch-books delineated faithful pictures of the mountains and vallies for a foundation to be embellished by his expressive pencil, his imitation would have produced no resemblance of them. But while the Commissioners acknowledge, with justice, that Mr. Sandby's pencil added "singular advantage to the *beauty* of the map," they ought to have sought also for better information concerning the manner in which it had been formed, than by a relation of vulgar errors, which could be only collected from among the common people, who remembered the survey being made.

Here, however, a testimony is given to the *beauty* of the survey, as well as before to its *accuracy*, and to the great *labour* in making it; nevertheless, it is still urged, that *corrections* were found necessary: but as these pretended corrections are mentioned, as

being only what arose from the *supposition* of the survey being made by the magnetic needle, they may be just as imaginary as that erroneous supposition. When the abovementioned *memoir* shall be published, we shall then see what corrections have been made; but at present, so far as I can perceive, by inspection and measurement, I cannot find any alteration whatever from the survey, except, possibly, one case; the propriety of which I much doubt, and rather presume it to be an error copied from former maps, as it is one of the three chief articles in which the survey differs from former maps. I had long ago made a small reduction from it, of the line of the coast quite around the country surveyed; and on comparing it with Arrowsmith's new map, I find not the least difference, except in the above single article, so far as I can perceive at present. But as to what the Commissioners add, "that Lieutenant Roy, afterwards a general officer, must have found it very difficult to have combined the various *unconnected* parts of the survey in a manner worthy of such a work;" this shews, that they have throughout been only writing a romance, formed out of their own theoretic fancies, but which they have laid, however, on the table of the parliament; for I have shewn above, that in the lines of survey, every distant visible object was fixed, as they proceeded, by intersections of their bearings from different stations on both sides: how then could those lines of survey be *unconnected*, which were thus necessarily connected together from beginning to end, at every intermediate visible object which occurred, but especially at the very beginning and end; which were

always a parish kirk, bridge, or gentleman's house or some such other permanent and remarkable object; which could not escape being fixed by both of those surveyors, who undertook contiguous districts? When one has to refute accusations depending upon fact, or not fact, the task is more easy, than thus to fight against those imaginary windmills in the air, which the commissioners have been pleased to exhibit upon the parliamentary table. But, if even there had been any such *difficulty* as alleged, yet those employed would have had no occasion to call in Lieutenant Roy to remove it; who was rather indebted to them for assistance, than they to him; for, until they came to his aid, he had never employed a *sketch-book*, on which the chief excellence of the survey depended; but he was discerning enough to adopt it, and at last, indeed, excelled in it. It was futile then, to add, "that the above *difficulties* have been since overcome," which never did exist, except in Utopia. But although there were no *such difficulties*, yet it is possible that there may be *some errors* in some parts of such an extensive work; yet not arising from any of those causes pointed out by the commissioners, but, possibly, in part, from the narrow national motive of the quarter-master-general, who would have the theodolites made in Edinburgh, and not at London; so that although they were sufficient for such partial surveys as were at first intended, yet were by no means accurately enough graduated for such an extended work as the whole country. Another cause is also manifest; for, by measurement over such a rough country, hills, vallies, and precipices, it is impossi-

ble but that the measurements must be sometimes longer than the real truth, yet never could be shorter, unless through some mistake, which was as carefully guarded against as possible. Hence it would follow, that two surveys beginning at the same object, and carried through different districts to end at the very same object, might meet together at that object without any *apparent* difference, and yet both of them be erroneous; which, however, could not be discovered, because they might be both *equally* erroneous, by their measurements being both too long, through the same cause, of the inequalities of the ground measured by both. This, however, is known, that no such errors of any importance did *appear* at the meeting of surveys through different districts; but it cannot be affirmed, nevertheless, that there were no errors, by reason of their being thus necessarily hid from observation, by their being produced as abovementioned, by causes *equally* operating in both cases; either the similar imperfections of the instruments, or the similar measurements on uneven surfaces. If the Commissioners had stated *these* causes of error, necessarily arising from the method of survey employed, they would have shewn some knowledge of the true state of things; and if the scientific professors employed to make *corrections*, have, in reality, made any, they must have been such errors as might be produced by the causes abovementioned, which certainly it was expedient to rectify. It can be only hoped, that the ostentatious pretences of such corrections being made, may not be now set forth for a similar purpose as affected the surveyors themselves before, that is, to enhance the

importance of the improvements pretended to be made in Arrowsmith's map, though at the expense of the credit of the survey; just as the quarter-master-general had before recommended himself, without the recommendation of any other person: so that those employed, sung at last to the tune of the shepherd in the pastoral, *Sic vos non vobis mellificatis apes;* nevertheless, those who lived long enough, arrived, by their merit, to distinguished situations, although not through the path of justice.

It only remains to mention one other fact; for, although the survey was not made by the magnetic needle, as the Commissioners suggest, yet the protraction on paper was made according to the magnetic meridian, full allowance being first made for the *reputed* variation of it at Edinburgh; that is, the first measurement between two stations at Edinburgh protracted on the first roll of paper, was made to have the same angle with the edges of the paper, as it was found to have with the magnetic meridian so corrected by the reputed variation of the needle: the effect of this would be, that the top of the rolls would be the true north, as is usual in maps; and, let the variations be ever so various in different parts of the country, these would no more affect the reputed variation at Edinburgh, which had been ascertained before by the diligent experiments of several able men, than there could be any *difficulty*, as mentioned above, in connecting together what had never been *unconnected.* Yet an accumulation of small errors, after so many stations, and all tending the same way, whether caused by the similar imperfection of the instruments, or the unevenness of

the ground, might at the end produce some errors of moment, without any possibility of prevention by the care of those employed: and these would be communicated by the protractions on paper. But at present, there is no reason to presume that any such errors have been discovered by the scientific men, to whom the Commissioners had recourse; because, as they have formed a romance concerning the pretended causes of them, on supposition of the survey being made by the magnetic needle, a fact which never existed, they may have equally romanced concerning the errors themselves, and deduced both of them out of their own imaginations. In fact, there seems to me one proof of this in Arrowsmith's map; for the meridian there, which passes through *Sterling*, passes also very near to *Fort George*, on the east of it; and from thence, very near to *Strathy-Head*, at the northernmost part of Scotland; that is, through the very middle of Scotland, from north to south. Now this is the very direction of that meridian in the small reduction abovementioned, which I had made from the survey. But this could not have been the case, if the assumed north point in the protraction had not been the true north point, as found by those scientific men themselves; for otherwise the whole body of the country together, would have been turned, in the protraction, too much either to the east or west; although the relative position of every particular place in it, with respect to its neighbours, would have still remained the same; therefore no error appears to have arisen, any more from making the edges of the rolls true meridians, by the means abovementioned, than from

that other *pretended* cause, the different variations of the needle in different places; which has just as much to do with the survey, as it has with the moon. That meridian through *Sterling*, passes also exactly in the same manner in *Dorret*'s larger map of Scotland, published before the survey was finished; which is a further refutation of the accusation in the said report, "of the survey depending *chiefly* on the magnetic meridian." With respect, however, to the direction of east and west, I do perceive one variation in the new map, which, it is to be hoped, the *memoir* will be able to justify, as in this it equally differs from *Dorret*'s map. Without this, the pretence of such *corrections* being necessary, can be considered only as a disingenuous mode of recommending the new map at the expense of the survey, from which it was copied; the *accuracy* of which is hidden, from obvious view, under a multiplicity of rolls of paper; but which would have been more easily seen, if the Commissioners had obtained access to the reduction of it made by the same persons as the large survey. As they make no mention of this, but employed Arrowsmith to make a new reduction, they seem to have had no knowledge of one existing before; so that it cannot be in the king's library; possibly it may be deposited at the board of ordnance: but I have heard it reported, that it had been *seen* in the possession of a person who had great interest with the duke of Cumberland: yet, that the Commissioners should have obtained no knowledge of the existence of such a reduction, shews again how little they drew their information from original and authentic sources. If the large survey was a *beauty*,

the reduction was a beauty of beauties, shaded like the other by the pencil of Mr. Sandby; but where it is to be now found, I am ignorant; I can only affirm that I have *seen* it. One cannot then but wonder at the thoughtless indifference of mankind to articles of value, until the very moment when they are wanted, from William duke of Cumberland, down to the Commissioners. And even when they begin to recover from that indifference, they then suffer themselves to be misled by the artifices and ostentatious pretences of such as want to turn every thing to their own benefit or commendation. The survey at first experienced the neglect and degradation, of being kept for some time in pawn, before public money could be obtained to redeem it. It has since undergone a second misrepresentation, by persons, whom I have proved incompetent to appreciate the nature of it: and whether the corrections of it, now pretended to be made in Arrowsmith's map, may not prove a third misfortune, remains still to be ascertained, when the *memoir* abovementioned, shall be published. So great is the aim of all to profit by that survey; and yet so little the inclination of any to do justice, to what they allow to be both highly useful and beautiful!

FACT AGAINST PUFF.

LETTER II.

TO THE EDITOR OF CENSURA LITERARIA.

SIR,

HAVING, in a former letter, shewn from what admirable and authentic sources of information the

Commissioners of New Roads in Scotland had derived, in their third report to Parliament, the account given there of the survey of Scotland, now in his Majesty's library, begun in 1747, and of the manner in which it was formed, as stated and edited apparently by those very profound scientific men, who were consulted concerning *corrections* necessary to be made in that survey; yet although justice thus has been done by them, in a learned manner, to some of the *labours* and *difficulties* which occurred in executing that work, they have, nevertheless, noticed only a very small portion of the various labours, difficulties, obstructions, unfortunate events, privations and starvations, which impeded the business and helped to produce those errors, so kindly undertaken to be corrected by them. It may, therefore, be acceptable to such persons as are fond of reading books of travels, to be still further informed concerning the nature of that arduous undertaking, and of the events which occurred in its execution, which helped also to stimulate still more the zeal and patience of the surveyors in the prosecution of a work altogether an unique of its kind in the history of the world. Such a minute relation of the many hair-breadth escapes they encountered, may, at least, palliate if not altogether excuse their failings, and perhaps may induce others to condole with them in their misfortune of not having obtained more feeling judges of their case than such as sit high in professional chairs and meetings of Commissioners, with good dinners and bottles of wine before them every day; the variations of which are more interesting than the variations of the magnetic meridian, and

both more pleasantly to be comprehended and digested than the difference between east and west bearings.

It must, in truth, be confessed, that the survey of all the highlands of Scotland was an arduous task, in which greater abilities were found requisite, than even the Commissioners seem to have suspected, if we may judge by the specimen they have mentioned of there being a necessity to call in Lieut. Roy to assist in connecting together what had never been unconnected: but as *finis coronat opus*, so it may be truly said with Horace, that the task thereby laid on their shoulders was no less than *ex fimo et fumo dare lucem;* which means, in plain English, that it was no easy matter either to find or see their way through that wilderness so as happily to come out of it without loss of limbs, after being up to their knees all day for whole months together in wet moss, and bogs, and dirt, their noses offended with filth, their eyes red and blind with the smoke of peat-firing, their skins punctured with domiciliated insects more certainly alive than the magnetic needle, and their stomachs always craving with little hope of being satisfied, except with what some or other of their senses would reject; in fine, their state was only somewhat short of the miserable case of Tantalus; for, to the misery of having nothing to appease a craving appetite, they had not, indeed, that other misery added, like him, of seeing before them good things which they would wish to eat, without being able to obtain them; as I am confidently informed by the relations of those inexperienced young men who were concerned, to their sorrow, in that expe-

riment of trying what might be done by dint of persevering labour, without any other recompence than to have it afterwards said that it has been well done. Yet the learned Commissioners have now deprived them even of this consolatory commendation, ever since they found out the hitherto undiscovered secret, that the variations of the magnetic needle in Scotland are so great as to alter even the direction of the pole itself: and this, I presume, they have set forth in their report to Parliament, as a specimen of the other important discoveries to be contained in the *memoir* which is to be published by their associated professors.

They have, however, said nothing in commendation of the politic conduct of the assistant quarter-master-general, their countryman, of his very kind speeches, shrewd grins of satisfaction and flattering promises, which served, like oil, to make the machine work the better, until he had himself obtained all the grits of the mill, and left to the others all the fatigue of working it in a reputable way; and even of this advantage the Commissioners and their associates have now attempted to deprive them, with great credit and a conspicuous display of their own superior abilities.

The whole scene reminds me of a case which happened in a campaign of Flanders, when a breach having been made in a besieged town, an officer marched briskly at the head of his men to the attack of it, but when arrived at the foot of the breach he turned about, pulling off his hat, with a low bow to his followers, and saying, "Well done, my brave lads, there is the breach, and there is the enemy,

march on as briskly as before and fear nothing. I will now go behind in order to see you safe up and shew you the way; our noble commander will reward us all." He accordingly lived to receive the reward; the rest lost either their limbs or their lives.

It may possibly afford some amusement to your readers if in like manner I give a minute relation of some of the adventures, distresses, and catastrophes, of those young surveyors who wandered almost as many summers in the highland wilderness as the Israelites sojourned in the desert of Sin; and the Commissioners also, themselves, will hereby see that there were more and greater *difficulties* to encounter than those arising from the variations of the magnetic meridian. Now their first difficulty respected that sustenance which is the staff of life, and also the preservation of their lives, it being necessary that they should come out alive from among the many impending rocks, the bogs and mosses, in order to be able to tell of the various wonders which they saw among them, as well as of their own sorrows, and the causes of them.

It was not known by them, at first, that by the cabins of the inhabitants being covered only with *divots*, that is, flags, consisting of the roots of grass and heather, the rain would make its way through them in stormy weather; hence, the first morning after the surveyors entered among those stupendous mountains, on awaking they found their hands and sleeves covered with black spots like ink; they were frightened at the sight and considered it as a prodigy of ill omen to them, like the storm of frogs

in Egypt; but still more when on turning their faces to heaven to say their prayers as they laid in bed, they soon found their mouths and eyes filled with a black rain, which seemed to confirm to them that they had got into the kingdom of the devil; further examination, however, of the room and canopy over their heads, for ceiling it had none, at length calmed their fears, but suggested the prudent step, however, never afterwards to pray in bed with their mouths open.

On viewing also the neighbouring apartments to their bed room, they found themselves to be separated only by a broken partition of wicker work from the habitation of the cows and other animals, who now began to salute the rising sun with a variety of pleasant noises; the calves and cows lowed alternately, the goats and sheep bleated, the pigs grunted, and all the bed-fellows thus joined in a concert of music, by which they proved themselves to be as hungry as the travellers began now to be themselves; but on inquiring for the larder they found it to be at the opposite end of the cabin, into which none are admitted but the mistress herself; it is called *Ben*, the house, an abbreviation, I suppose, of *behind* the house; but I assure you it was not a Cloacina, although containing a good collection of nosegays; this is the store room for all the family; here the good wife deposits all her dainties, her butter and cheese, milk and whey, barley bannocks, goat-hams, and also near the sea haddocks dried in the sun over the steam of a dunghill to give them a relish, which the store room itself does not diminish. Here also are deposited all her own trinkets of orna-

ment, together with the dirty linen of the family, her own tattered petticoats, and her husband's best trowsers and breeches, when he has any. This is, in fine, the *sanctum sanctorum* of the family, which the good wife guarded with a jealous eye from the soldiers, who accompanied the surveyors, as Cerberus watched the banks of the river Styx: but it was soon found, however, that a few halfpence would turn the key of the store-room, just as a good sop is said to stop easily that hell-dog's barking; and thus, when the husband was absent, a bason of milk might be obtained, if wanted, by such gentle insinuations. These, however, were only the unlicensed fees of office, and such as are not disdained by the chief butlers and bakers of Pharaoh in his more extensive government. Yet, in truth, if not urged by necessity in a very hot day, one ought to be rather paid for drinking the milk, than to buy it, as it had always swimming on the surface a plentiful crop of blacks from the smoky roof, together with straws and hairs, some from the cows and others from the maids, as they often were forced to scratch their heads over the milk pail for want of combs, and there was generally urgent necessity for such scratchings.

Time and thirst, however, soon brought their stomachs to, and the soldiers were ingenious in discovering a method to prevent this dirty mess from descending into their throats, which was by dipping the upper lip and nose very deep into the dish of milk, after wiping their own nose, and those of their companions, and thus they inhaled the liquid only from below: by this means the above delicacies

floating on the surface were stopped in their progress by gathering round about the nose, where they formed a circle of various colours like a halo about the moon. Goat's milk, however, has a very rank taste, as well as strong smell; especially as from the necessary method of milking the goats from behind, some additions are often made to the liquor, while the milk maid holds up the goat's tail in her mouth; but hungry dogs eat dirty pudding.

The payments made for these regales were always seen to be put into a privy purse tied close under her petticoat before, as is the purse of the men likewise; and untutored nature seems to have suggested this cautious mode of keeping all privy and precious articles close together; yet some of the satirical soldiers said it was done in order to tell them what more might be had for money. With these fees of office the good wife buys a new broach to keep her plaid together, or to pay for a jug of whiskey, when some of her old cronies in the neighbourhood come to visit her, for although the men will sit in a circle for hours together talking of news, drinking whiskey out of a horn cup, and treating one another with snuff out of a ram's horn, yet they judge that spring water is the best liquor for women to keep them cool and chaste. As the pin-money thus obtained for the wife's own use was profitable and conducive to her private views, so it was still more eminently useful and refreshing to those weary travellers in a sultry day, who otherwise could procure nothing else to drink than spring water along with the women, (as whiskey burnt their mouths and increased their thirst:) but the grant of

a bason of milk was too often confined to the surveyors alone as an honorary present, and a child was generally sent with the soldiers to shew them the best spring, accompanied with the loan of a dirty can. They, however, preferred another method, which the examples of the natives had taught them, and which was to lie down flat on their bellies and suck up the element with their mouths quite fresh as it issued from the earth, and just as cows and horses drink. It must, in truth, be allowed, that spring water so drank is super excellent; and, indeed, the only good thing in the country, except in salmon season; it is also as plentiful as excellent; so that I believe it to be habit alone which makes men pay high for wine and strong liquors, or else from their having never tasted the luxury of such spring water in a hot day, just as many never saw the natural beauty of a rising sun.

As to provisions they never could discover there any eatable which engaged their affection so much as the above liquid element. The venison is of the red-deer kind, and both strong and seldom to be obtained; the roebucks as seldom, they being very shy and quick-sighted, so as not easily shot, except at the edges of woods in an evening, when they come out of cover to feed, but as quickly run in again: hence the soldiers used to ask, when any of their companions were absent late at night, whether they had been to shoot a roebuck or a highland lass, as both of them always hastily ran to the cover in an evening when pursued, they being as shy as the roebucks by day light.

The chief food consisted eternally of capper, cap-

per, capper, that is, of thin oat biscuit, which stuck in their throats even with cheese and butter; and yet the natives as familiarly invite a friend to come and eat a capper with them, or to take an egg, as in England to eat a piece of mutton with them. As the Scotch are all said to be *larned*, this seems one proof of it, for the least instructed of the natives could inform them that capper was a Latin word preserved in the highlands ever since the time of the Romans from *Caper* a he-goat; and, indeed, one should think there was some truth in this, as it is not to be found in Shaw's Gaelic Dictionary, nor yet in Lhuyd's Irish Dictionary; but it was not clearly comprehended how a he-goat produces cheese and butter, yet, possibly, the Commissioners may be able to give as good an account of this as of the magnetic meridian.

Sometimes, however, the natives offered the variety of another dish, which they called *sowins;* this is a brown jelly made by steeping bran in water until it turns sour, and is then eaten with a little milk, which was only a change from rank to sour; they, therefore, preferred goat-cheese, though full of hairs, and not a little strong; whether these were the hairs of that animal, or some of Pope's hairs left in sight, they did not examine, from their length or coarseness: but as the foxes and hares of that country have very thick coats of hair given by nature to preserve them in the severity of winter, so it was observed that the milkmaids had very long and thick brushes on their heads, intended, doubtless, by nature to preserve their constitutional warmth in a cold

climate: it is no wonder then that these were profusely scattered into every thing.

Once, however, they had another variety offered to them; for one morning a man came almost out of breath to say that they might now be able to purchase some fresh meat, for he had observed that the gentlemen travellers bought old stale eggs, old dried fish, old hens, and old women, for want of younger things, but he could now procure them something quite young—"*Well, friend, what is it?*" "Why, a young calf." *How old is it?* "Oh, not above a day old, and I din'ney ken whether it was born alive." "Oo't away, oo't away, maun," says their Highland guide (who always made himself interpreter also) "the maun means, gem'men, a slinked calf, and in gude troth it be unky gude ating, if well dressed, in its own waters."

The experiment, however, was not tried; and some better hope was excited on being told, that at the houses in view was a public house, which they call a *change-house*, in expectation of obtaining a little beer; but that name is given very improperly, for they found there no change at all, no beer, and nothing but whiskey and capper, capper, was sold there, which might, indeed, be changed for their money. The good wife, however, told them kindly that if they would stay all night she would brew them some beer in her iron kettle: but the weather was fine and could not be lost; for never was the proverb more true than there, that hay must be made while the sun shines; since frequently after a fine morning the white clouds might be seen skimming

along the sides of the distant mountains, and when they came nigh, most certainly deluged the whole valley with a flood; their chief rains being in the middle of summer, which helped, indeed, to cool the air, but impeded the surveying operations, and too often caught them, where they could obtain no other shelter than a rock or a shattered pine tree.

The common sign for a change-house, is everywhere alike; no change in that any more than in capper, and consists of only an old broom stuck upon a broomstick, and fixed up at one end of the house until the wind blows it down. The cabin itself is always also of the same construction as the others, the walls being only stones piled upon one another without any cement, so that the wind blows through every hole between them; for which reason and many others which were both felt, smelt, and seen, the surveying parties preferred their tents, which they always carried with them, and pitched on some dry spot of grass at night; except when the wind was high, which generally rushed with such violence through narrow vallies, as soon to overset those temporary towers of Babel, and leave them exposed naked at midnight to the wind and rain, and the weather was always very changeable and deceitful. In these cases they were forced to take shelter, if it may be so called, in the neighbouring cabins, or become friendly associates to their cattle till the storm was over; but on the west coast it often rains every day for two months together, in the middle of summer, attended with storms of wind.

These misfortunes, however, gave an opportunity of seeing the decorations of those cabins within, the fire of which is in the middle with a small hole at top, for such smoke to escape as does not come out at the low door, after taking a whirl quite round the house; but there was little room found for wet strangers to dry themselves, and as little fire, the family sitting close round it, like so many cats on their bums: sometimes, indeed, a stone of honour was kept in the cabin for the master of it, or to be offered to strangers to sit on, as a hospitable kind of arm chair, and afterwards to serve for their pillow at night. The darkness of night, however, and the artificial darkness caused by the smoke, the ingenuity of the natives have found out a method to illume, in some degree, by means of natural candles, which ever since the time of the Romans have laid hid in their peat-mosses; for their woods being then burnt down, the pine trees have ever since laid at length immersed in those mosses, and are now become so much like touch-wood, that by shivering off slices of them they serve in the place of candles, with the assistance of one of the children, who take it in turns to be candlesticks: for by holding a shiver of that fir wood in each hand, and lighting at the fire the opposite ends, they raise a blaze; which is constantly kept up by the child's breaking off the little burnt ends, by rubbing one end against the other, and thus renewing the blaze.

The operation of making oat cakes for supper was also found to be by flattening the dough with the hands into round and thin cakes like pan-cakes, and then drying them over the fire in a thin plate

of iron, called the girdle. After having the first time seen this operation, a soldier was always placed sentry for the future over the maid, who made the cakes, in order to discover whether she had not got the itch between her fingers. Sometimes, indeed, the soldiers were able to buy a half starved sheep, for which they paid three or four shillings, and divided it among them to be broiled over their next fire; but the sheep are so starved in winter that no good mutton is to be had until near Michaelmas; and this was the only flesh meat that was ever tasted for six months together, unless when the surveyors could buy an old hen, or were invited to some Laird's house to partake of a roast fowl.

It is certain, however, that notwithstanding all these privations the parties did return after many hair-breadth escapes, without the loss either of lives or limbs, but as certainly they did only just live and vegetate. With respect to sleep, indeed, they fared better; for fatigue always brought on balmy sleep and pleasant dreams, and although not on soft beds of down, yet at least on sweet ones, when they slept in their tents; for they soon learnt from the natives the luxury of sleeping there on beds made of heather, rather than the beds at the change-houses, to be scarified in the morning with fleas and lice, unless when forced into those hovels by storms of wind and rain: oh, the sweet beds of flowery heather, which never obstructed that restorer of the human frame, balmy sleep, and the oblivion of all former sorrows and fatigues! It was able even to say peace to the cravings of a hungry stomach until

the morning came, and capper came again! Except that blessing of sound sleep at night, they tasted of no other in the day time, unless the tea and sugar which they carried always along with them, and which the pure spring water heightened into a luxury. These were the two panaceas, which made them forget both past calamities and present ailments; for in hot weather tea kept until cold was the best and only draught, which they could depend upon obtaining to allay their thirst, and which they always carried in a bottle, as others do cordials; and after their being wet, if it was made hot again it became a sovereign preventive of colds.

But there is great dexterity, however, required in making up beds of heather, which deserves a patent more than any medical nostrums, and which consists in keeping all the small flowery ends upon the top of the bed, and squeezing down the coarser and harsher ends into the bottom; and such were the only luxuries enjoyed by the surveyors! And now ye dainty epicures of London, travelled coxcombs, haranguing over French dishes, ye chairmen of city feasts and corporation dinners, with napkins tucked under your chins, who search the East and West Indies for poignant sauces to give relish to your languid stomachs, oppressed with fulness and heavy port-wine; who send to the ends of the world for tasteless turtle, and pretend ecstatic joy at the sight of domestic cod if crimpt alive, or lobsters roasted at a slow fire, until they shriek out in vain for pity from man; if ye did but know the luxury of a draught of fresh spring water after the fatigue

of a long walk, in a hot day, over sharp rocks, or mosses, which shake under one, with wet and sore feet from morning to night, one's face either scorched with the sun or else drizzled over with a soaking mist; if ye did but know how sweet is repose of body on a knoll of grass, all stretched at ease beside a bubbling spring of cooling refreshment, under the shade of an old weather-beaten tattered pine tree, which has braved many a storm in order now to afford cover from the sultry sun, then would ye know the great difference between the natural enjoyments of human life, and the pretended artificial ones of senses benumbed by plenitude, between the real substance and the mere name of pleasure!

Sometimes, however, the surveying parties came to little nests of buildings which they call towns, three or four of which are forced to club together to send one member to Parliament, just as nine tailors make a man. Here they expected to find more comfortable change-houses, but still scarce any change at all for the better; their motto is every where *semper idem;* for although in some things they were, indeed, varied, yet no effectual change; even the tents and beds of heather we still regretted to preserve one from the fairies; the dishes of provision, however, were a little different, though still no flesh meat but starved mutton. One dish offered up was called a *haggis*, being a kind of thin pudding put into the guts of animals, and much of the same colour and smell as the original contents. Another was *black sheep's-head broth;* not that the

sheep there have naturally black faces like the Norfolk sheep, but they are sent to the blacksmith's shop to have the hair singed off with hot irons, which renders them black, and hence the broth has the taste of singed hair, or burnt woollen cloth, which is considered there as a haut-gout. Another dish was *frightened chicken broth.* A great alarm was one day caused at hearing all the landlord's yard in an uproar, master and mistress, men, maids, and children, running about helter skelter, the hens screaming, ducks quacking, dogs barking, men hallooing, maids squeaking, children clapping their hands like mad devils; at first it was thought that the house was on fire or hell broke loose, but it soon appeared that they were only in chase of an old hen, whose screams proclaimed her capture, and so the chase ended. She was soon cut into small pieces, and boiled with Scotch barley, and some eggs broken into the liquor with chopped *kale*, a kind of sprout, and thus broth made of the whole. It was said that the chase would help to make the hen eat tender, just as in England they bait bulls for the same purpose; but it was with difficulty that the flesh of the old yellow dame could be picked from the bones, and this they call *chicken broth.*

The principal change found in these towns was in the signs of the change-houses; for, instead of an old broomstick, the whole side of a house was here transformed into a sign, being painted over with diverse devises symbolic of meat and drink. On one place was painted a large bottle with the beer squirting out high, and after forming a monstrous

arch, like a rainbow, it fell into a drinking glass placed to receive it; in another part was a large black kettle with a piece of beef sticking out of the top of it, &c.

It must be confessed that these signs were more appropriate than a broomstick, the rooms being never swept; and the only thing blameable was to find that Puff has his houses there as well as in London; for on being invited in by the sight of boiling beef, nothing was found within but still capper, capper, and the beer was also as small and vapid as the sign was large and witty—nothing but capper and small beer being to be procured there. No company was found in the house except that impudent fellow Puff, who was just arrived from London in his post chaise and four, and had seated himself by the kitchen fire in his arm chair, smoking his pipe, and giggling at the travellers being so nicely taken in by his stratagems: as they went away, vexed at the disappointment, Puff cried, in an upbraiding tone, "that he thought Englishmen knew better than to expect more except just to see boiled beef here, without tasting it; for they eat so much of it in England that none was to be had any where else in Europe"—the apology was not more agreeable than the disappointment.

They were entertained however, here, by the approach of a public crier of lost goods: his first cry was "I let ye to wit, that there was tint yestreen a twa year old shealtrie," and so on, describing the marks. His next cry was "I let ye to wit, that there was tint yestreen a wee bit she beastie; she

had on a blue coat, and under her small mutch were to be seen a few red hairs between her twa lugs." It was wished to have this cry interpreted, but they were afraid to ask the landlady, lest it should put her to the blush; but the highland guide coming past at that instant, it was found that a *mutch* meant nothing but a cap on her head, with a few red hairs under it between her *ears*. Here also they met with a novel kind of ferry boat, which entertained them much; there being an adjacent river, without any bridge, the highland girls hire themselves out to carry passengers over on their backs when the water is high. After having made your bargain you get up with your arms round her neck; she then very dexterously pulls up her coats, which she tucks up in a huge bundle before her, and without any fear of the open air, wind, or water, trots cross the stream with a staff in one hand while the other stands guard over her bundle before; so that if the load on her shoulders should extend his hand (which is against the law of the land) the protuberance before is so large that he could not reach beyond that bundle. Necessity is said to be the mother of invention, and has here found out unthought-of advantage in the dress of women above that of men, as by the above natural method pursued nothing is wetted which is the worse for being washed, for shoes and stockings they never wear; except, indeed, when they go to kirk on a Sunday, and then they are carried in the hands until near the kirk, where they sit down on a knoll of grass and put on their sandals, to which place they again re-

pair after kirk to pull them off, and go home barefoot. The surveying parties were once invited to a wedding and dance, and the same mode was practised there also; for after the dance was over, each partner attended his lass to the nearest green spot, and helped her to pull off her shoes and stockings before she returned home. If such frugal ways were observed in England so many men would not be ruined by their wives' extravagance; and if Puff had not writ about what he did not understand, I should have never made known these good examples set by the daughters of Eve in the north.

P.S. I have since found that Shaw, in his Gaelic Dictionary, does mention *capper*, but he spells it *Ceapaire;* and as his next word is *Ceapairam*, to spread upon, or daub, he seems to conceive this latter verb to have given origin to *Ceapaire*, a piece of bread and butter. So that the *larned* derivation of it from the Latin *Caper*, a he-goat, can be only one of Puff's inventions, with which he first puffed up the Scotch, and then imposed upon the English traveller, as if it had been derived from Latin 2000 years ago.

FACT AND HUNGER AGAINST PUFF AND LUXURY.

Art. DCCXCVI. *On Vaccination.*

TO THE EDITOR OF CENSURA LITERARIA.

Sir,

The subject of vaccination being now under consideration in Parliament, and it being the opinion there, that it was very expedient to collect together all facts relative to the certainty of its security against the small-pox, I will mention one fact, which in part came under my own knowledge, but which has never yet been mentioned by any writer on the subject, and which is, that it seems expedient to inquire, whether if a person be inoculated with the small pox after the cow pock had taken effect, the inoculated arm may not nevertheless be so much affected with the small-pox as to communicate it to others, although no fever or eruption affected the rest of the body. A case happened to a husbandman last summer, which seems to render this doubtful. A farmer had a child inoculated with the cow pock a twelvemonth before very successfully, but the small pox being last summer much in a neighbouring village, to which he often sent his servants, he got his child inoculated with the small pox, lest his servants should bring the infection home in their clothes, and for greater security to his child, but did not confine the child within doors; a small inflammation took place round the incision, and he went into the barn as usual, where a young man was threshing, who took hold of the inoculated hand, as frequently before; and within ten days

after was taken with small pox and died. He had been very careful to avoid any of the servants, who went near the infected village, and was himself persuaded that he caught it of the child. Now the child's arm afterwards grew worse, and so stiff, that he could scarcely lift it to his mouth; so that they sent for a physician, who thought the inflammation would go away, but could find no signs, that the body had been any way affected with eruptions. I saw the arm soon after the young man was taken ill, and there were then yellow protuberances all round the place of incision, as if they were filled with the matter of small pox pimples when at the height before they flatten; in time they dispersed but then looked very angry like whitlows on fingers just before they break. Is it not then possible, that although the cow pock had prevented fever and eruptions on the body, yet that the small pox might have a partial and local effect upon the arm and place of incision; sufficient to raise contagion enough to communicate the small pox by contact to another person? If it be possible, this ought to be generally known and guarded against, when a person is inoculated with small pox after cow pock. May we not also hence infer, when a person is susceptible of the small pox afterwards, it arises from the cow pock before having had a similar partial effect on the arm only, like the small pox in the above case, without sufficiently affecting the whole body? Those then only ought perhaps to think themselves safe by the cow pock, who find themselves made ill for a day or two.

S.

Art. DCCXCVII. *On a passage in Galatinus De Arcanis Catholicæ Veritatis.*

TO THE EDITOR OF CENSURA LITERARIA.

SIR,

Your correspondent P. M. is informed, that I cannot find the passage, concerning which he makes inquiry in Raymond Martin's *Pugio Fidei;* but in Galatinus *de arcanis Catholicæ veritatis* it occurs in his book, 1st. cap. 3, the title to which is as follows, "De authenticis Judæorum scriptoribus, qui Christi antecesserunt adventum, ex quorum potissimum scriptis compactus est Talmud." In the middle of which chapter is the following passage: "Rabbenu Haccados librum scripsit, quem *Gale razeya* i. e. *revelatorem secretorum* nuncupavit, qui certé non ab re Doctor sanctus est, cum spiritu sancto afflatus, ita plane eo in libro cuncta Domini nostri Jesu Christi mysteria aperuerit, ut non futura prædixisse sed res gestas, tanquam Evangelista narrasse, videatur. Quem paulo post Rabbi Nehumias Haccanæ filius secutus, non ea tantum quæ a prophetis de Messia occultè tradita fuerant, lympidissime patefecit, verum etiam se ab ejus adventu per *quinquagenta tantum annos* procul esse asseruit. Unde Haccanæ filio suo, quem Messiam ipsum visum visurum et sperabat et gaudebat, ut eum de Messiæ mysteriis certiorem faceret, epistolam scripsit, quam *Iggereth hassodoth* i. e. epistolam secretorum appellari voluit. Per idem fere tempus (anno ante Christi natalem circiter secundo et quadragesimo) Jonathas Usielis filius totum vetus testamentum in Chaldæam vertit lin-

quam." The book is in dialogue between Capnio and Galatinus; these words are by the latter; Capnio makes a short answer and objection relative to the Chaldee paraphrase of Jonathan, but says not a syllable on the subject of the prediction. However Galatinus resumes it in his subsequent ch. iv. in the following words. "In actibus apostolicis scribitur, *Maxima pars sacerdotum obtemperabat fidei;* et horum nonnulli multa de Christo miranda scripserunt; quorum *opuscula aliqua* adhuc exstant apud Judæos, quamvis ea ne *ad manus nostras* perveniant, pro viribus occulere nitantur: et *inter cætera* sunt ea, quæ literis mandavit Rabbi ille Haccanas Nehumiæ filius, qui cum omnia Redemptoris nostri gesta et miracula prout oculis viderat, scripsisset, sic denique dixit. *Ego Haccanas sum unus ex illis, qui credunt in eum, et ablui me aquis sanctis, in ejusque viis rectis incedo;* to which translation he prefixes the original Hebrew words of Haccanas.

Now the words *ad manus nostras* and *inter cætera* seem to render it doubtful, that although he quotes the Hebrew words themselves, yet that he had never himself seen the written *opusculum* of Haccanas the son, but set them down from the report only of others: and the words *opuscula aliqua* may be equally thought to imply, that likewise he had never seen the epistle of Nehumiah, called *epistola secretorum* in the preceding chapter; at least in neither chapter does he affirm, that he had seen and read either of them. This doubt is strengthened by Capnio in his answers not taking the least notice of such a remarkable prediction and information by the father and son: whereas in his answer to another

article there Capnio thus clearly expresses himself as having *read* concerning the Talmud "Ego verò in *Hebraicis reperi literis*, Talmud a pluribus doctoribus fuisse collectum." Moreover, in ch. 6 and 7 when he quotes any sentence in Hebrew, he expressly adds the chapters and book, in which it is to be found, not only with respect to Hosea, Ezekiel, and Genesis, but also in the book *Zoar*, and the express title of the chapter *Sata* in the Talmud, whence he quotes a passage against the purity of Jesus Christ; yet omits all such minute references in the abovementioned remarkable testimonies in his favour, which indicate again that he wrote these rather from hearsay.

In the same 4th chapter he peremptorily affirms, that the book of Wisdom was writ by Philo, and the 12th and 13th verses of ch. 2 were meant of Christ in particular, he being there called υἱος θεου, the Son of God, an interpretation exploded even in the English translation; and he adds, "In sequentibus capitibus multa de martyrum victoria et ecclesiæ Christi statu deque universali Judicio prædicit." Here he just as readily makes Philo a prophet as he did Nehumiah in the preceding chapter; and expressly affirms, that the Nicene council received the book *tanquam sancti spiritus dictamine scriptum*; yet afterwards he owns it to be doubtful whether Philo was actually a Christian. I think that the prediction deserves but little credit.

S.

Art. DCCXCVIII. *Defence of Grotius.*

TO THE EDITOR OF CENSURA LITERARIA.

SIR,

I am sorry to differ from P. M. * in regard to Grotius, to whom I think he has not done justice; for as to his commentary on the Old Testament, it must surely be acceptable to readers to be informed what the real facts were literally, which are denoted by any sentences there, as well as what the secondary senses of them are, which either have, or may be considered as prophetic and typically descriptive of the Messiah or any circumstances relative to his advent: in truth, without knowing precisely what the types were themselves, we cannot well judge what things or acts can or cannot with propriety be typified by them. Grotius then ought rather to be commended than condemned for having been the first commentator who had attentively applied himself to point out those literal senses; while all others *before* had confined themselves too much to the typical senses only, or the spiritual ones, as the French call them, which may be considered as descriptive of something relative to the Messiah.

The Jews themselves had committed the same fault before, by dwelling too much in their commentaries on those senses of passages in the Bible, which they thought applicable to the Messiah, or which they rather distorted from their real meaning in order to force them to become types of the Messiah; their constant practice indeed was to ransack every corner of their scriptures for such forced

* See No. XXXVI. of the Ruminato rin Vol. VIII.

senses, and to find as many of them in the pastoral of Solomon as in the predictions of their prophets; a huge collection of which may be found in the defence of Christianity by Raymond Martyn, and are there urged by him as evidence, that the Jews themselves after Christ as well as before had interpreted these passages predictive of the Messiah in the same senses as they have been since applied by Christians to Jesus Christ: but they had entirely omitted the strict grammatical meaning of those passages, and what actions or objects the sacred authors themselves intended primarily to describe by their own words, according to the most critical and judicious senses, which the subject before them and the context might naturally lead a reader to conceive.

In this the Jews were too readily followed by the first Christian commentators, and it was high time for Grotius to alter this mode of wild criticism on the Bible; which he performed with great credit to his learning as well as Christian belief; yet that he sometimes fell into errors is indeed true, and what author is without them? But that he said sometimes so little about the typical senses relative to Christ was owing to the abovementioned object of discovering the literal ones being chiefly in his view; and it cannot be candidly concluded that he thought the worse of those others, but only that he confined himself to his principal subject, as the others were well known before; and he did not propose that his commentary should include *every thing* which might be wanted for the information of others, but only that in which others had before been conspicuously deficient. By such an accusation even Leclerc also,

whose commentary proposed to be more *comprehensive*, might be equally condemned; for we might find there also examples, as may be seen below where after explaining the literal senses of passages, he adds little more than those words which P. M. objects to in Grotius, "Hæ notæ congruunt potius in Christum."

It is natural enough for writers to be brief concerning what is well known, after having been diffuse concerning what is less known; and there is no contradiction in Grotius for saying that the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah was *congruous* to Jesus Christ, better than to Jeremiah or any other person, to whom the Jews or himself, according to their interpretation, had applied it before in the literal senses so ascribed to it by them: in fact, it is only saying the same as before "Hæc congruunt potius ad Christum quam ad Jeremiam;" for though it should be ever so true, that the account there was actually meant of Jeremiah, yet there are still many particulars, though not all, concerning which that question may be asked at this distance of time "*Quis potest, &c.*" who is now able to say that these things *agree* to Jeremiah? But we are able to say that they are *congruous* to Christ, as we have better information concerning the events of his life. The accusation then in this *particular* example does not appear to me better founded, than the *general* objection of his giving too much attention to the literal senses of what occurs in the Old Testament, "and *rejecting* for the most part *all* typical and secondary ones."

But the objection to Grotius is still less solid, "that he pays too great regard to Talmudic fables

and Talmudic interpretations," if we may judge by those *particular* examples, which the writer produces as proofs of this defect. For, in regard to the prophecy of Nehumiah, I have shewn, that Jenkins has erroneously accused Grotius of deriving this from the Talmud, as P. M. himself suspected; and that on the contrary it originated with Christians; for Galatinus copied it from a book pretended to be writ by a Jew, but apparently a spurious work writ by a Christian in the name of a Jew in order to give it the greater credit, and impose upon other Christians, *extra muros peccatur et intra.* If Grotius was here deceived, he was deceived by a Christian fable, and not by a Talmudic one.

Another *particular* example, which he produces, is, " that it was obviously the view of the later Jews to insert in their Talmuds such interpretations of the scriptures as might justify their rejection of Christ as the promised Messiah: for which reason they appropriated many of the most striking prophecies concerning Christ to *particular persons* in Jewish history—in which unfair and erroneous method of interpreting prophecy Grotius generally *agrees* with them—and misled in this manner he applies the fifty-second and fifty-third chapters of Isaiah almost wholly to Jeremiah, and does not even mention the name of Christ except once, when he says " Hæc congruunt *potius* in Christum." But is not this once as good as a hundred times, since it includes the *whole* of these prophecies and gives the preference to this application of *all* of them to Christ rather than to Jeremiah? Has Leclerc done better? In all his notes on the fifty-second chapter he men-

tions only *once* that any part of it is applicable to Christ, but *once* also he rejects a sentence as being applicable at all to Christ, as some erroneously supposed; until he comes to the very last verse, and then he only says more coldly than Grotius, "the prophet here describes Christ *more clearly* than before," *clarius quam in versu priori*. And how does he begin in his fifty-third chapter? It is by telling us "That the Messiah *is* described in this chapter, yet still not without being covered under veils *(non sine involucris)*, so that what he says may agree in some degree *(aliquatenus)* with any *pious Jews*—but it squares much *more aptly* and fully to the Messiah," or as he afterwards expresses himself, *more aptly and elegantly*. Here then Leclerc applies this chapter just as much to *pious Jews*, as Grotius does to *Jeremiah*, as being the primary senses of the contents: but what nice critic can discover any such great difference between these two expositions of Grotius and Leclerc in these two chapters, as that the former should be accused "of having done more harm than good to the Christian religion?" And that nowithstanding "his deservedly esteemed and excellent book on the truth of the Christian religion." Comparisons may be sometimes odious, but candour requires, that we should not condemn in one man what is not judged condemnable in others, and where there is scarcely any difference of importance in their conduct.

General accusations, not substantiated by *particular* examples in proof of them, can be only refuted by such a *general* vindication, as that I think thus, while you think otherwise: and the only *other par-*

ticular example I can discover in the letter in question relates to the mere *name* of Jeremiah. I have shewn above, that although Grotius alone is accused of having been "misled by those Talmudic fables," yet in reality he differs from Leclerc and some other Christians only in his applying *my servant* to mean Jeremiah *in particular* and expressly by *name* as being *one* person living at the time of the captivity; while Leclerc applies it in a more *general* way to *several unnamed pious Jews* living at the same time; and I may now add that many Jews and Christians likewise apply it only in a still *more general* way to *the whole people of the Jews* before, at, and after that captivity, as being the primary sense of *my servant;* which other Christians however judge to be applicable immediately to Christ and to no other, without having had any such primary allusion to any other person or persons whatever at the time of the captivity. Therefore if it was this explication of *my servant*, by Grotius, as having had a prior or primary application to some other person before Christ, on account of which the writer says, that Grotius was *misled by the Talmud*, yet others are here again at least equally accusable of the same fault, and also before the time of Grotius as well as since: but if the accusation respected merely the *name* of Jeremiah, then it is certainly not true that Grotius could have derived his explication by that *name* from the Talmud, for not a syllable of any such name as Jeremiah is to be found so applied in the Talmud as a primary sense. Neither is it more true that the Talmud or Talmudic authors do ever give the phrase *my servant* any primary sense whatever

either by the name *Jeremiah*, or *pious Jews*, or any other of any kind, but always uniformly explain it as meaning immediately *the Messiah*, like many Christians; and the same explanation is continued there throughout the whole chapters fifty-two and fifty-three, as meaning every where *the Messiah* only. If then Grotius has any where been misled in his explanations by the Talmud, yet it certainly is not in this *particular* article about Jeremiah, which the letter lays to his charge; and concerning which he ought rather to have been reproved by the letter writer for *not* having followed the explications in the Talmud.

Thus we find, that it is a very different thing to make a loose *general* accusation, and to support it by a *particular* example in proof. The real fact is, that the explication of *my servant*, by *Jeremiah*, was *first* introduced by Saadias at the beginning of the tenth century, 500 years after the compilation of the Talmud; nor do I know that he was ever followed in this explication by any other person, either Jew or Christian, except Grotius: Grotius ought then to have been blamed for *deserting* the Talmud and Talmudic authors in order to adopt an erroneous critical explanation by a learned Jew in *modern* times; of which erroneous explanations there were other examples by other learned Jews, and by which Grotius might have been just as much misled from the sense of *my servant* in the Talmud, viz. Kimchi and Abenezra, both of whom explain *my servant* to mean often the *Jewish people* in general, yet not *always;* and it appears from Origen against Celsus, that some Jews had explained the phrase in the

same way even *before* the Talmud; and the same sense has been adopted by some Christians likewise. Thus every way we find that with respect to this *particular* accusation concerning Jeremiah Grotius stands quite clear of having been *misled by Talmudic fables or explanations* out of opposition to Christianity, and to have been misled merely by the critical judgment of a learned Jew in *modern* times: and this also in opposition to one other learned Jew, Solomon Jarchi, who had on the contrary set Grotius the better example of *following* the Talmud, by interpreting, like that, *my servant* to mean immediately *the Messiah* and no other person, just as most Christians do at present. In this instance then Grotius has not shewn any predilection for the Talmud, but on the contrary *deserted* it, where he might have better followed it safely.

But it may possibly be still urged, that although Grotius did not here follow the Talmud, yet he is equally blameable for following the interpretation of Jews in *modern* times, who adopted such literal senses out of opposition to Christianity. But can this be asserted with candour after my having shewn that the Christians, Leclerc, and others, allow these two chapters to have a *primary* reference to certain *pious Jews* at the time of the captivity and only a *secondary* one to the Messiah? If it be once allowed that those chapters have a *primary* reference to some other person than Christ, it seems to be a matter of no importance to Christianity whether by that primary person be meant certain *pious Jews* or the *whole people of Jews*, or any single person by *name* whether Jeremiah, Isaiah, or any other. Saadias

then or Abenezra can no more be thought to have intended to oppose Christianity by their own literal interpretations than Leclerc, but to have been all guided by their own grammatical and critical opinions only of the real sense of those chapters, as accordingly they all in their notes on it profess to be, and Grotius also the same.

Now as a further confirmation that this only was their real, though mistaken view, I may mention that a similar instance has occurred even in the present times concerning a very learned and esteemed annotator on the prophets, *Rosemuller*, who in 1793 published his translation and notes on Isaiah, and who explains those two chapters as containing a vindication of God and expostulation by *Isaiah* with the Jews concerning God's providence in his dealings with them relative to their captivity and restoration, without having even any *secondary* reference whatever to the Messiah in general or Christ in particular: so that *my servant* is said by him to mean either Isaiah himself or Jeremiah, or *some* prophet or other, by whose mouth God would or had declared his intentions to the Jews, sometimes one prophet and sometimes another, yet chiefly *Isaiah* himself. How little then did Grotius differ from this late expositor in having substituted *Jeremiah* as meaning *my servant* and prophet! It may be almost said that Saadias prophesied of the interpretation by Rosemuller; and as all those Jews profess in their notes to be guided throughout by their own conceptions of the meaning of the text, it would be uncandid to suppose that they were secretly influenced by enmity to Christianity any

more than Grotius and Rosemuller, both professedly Christians.

I will quote some part of what Rosemuller says on this subject, and then others may judge whether Grotius did not express his own construction of those chapters sufficiently in saying *Congruunt potius in Christum*, i. e. *primarily* and *solely*; while Le-clerc gives them only a *secondary* application to Christ and primarily to *certain pious Jews*, and while Rosemuller allows them no application to Christ whatever; more especially as it was a matter foreign to the chief object in view by Grotius, which was to investigate what certain passages of scripture might mean, if literally explained according to the most grammatical senses of the text, which others before himself had explained *only* agreeably to their own conceptions of their typical or spiritual senses if applied to Christ, and in senses different from one another. Now Rosemuller says, "Vix dici potest quam inanem operam in hac Isaiæ particulâ navaverint Christiani interpretes; vaticinationes de Ecclesiæ Christianæ fatis ferè ubique in illa expressas fuisse plerique statuunt, horum igitur hariolationes sine damno ignorabimus. *Præf. Scholia in vetus test. tom. iii. sect.* 3. *Lips.* 1793.

Accordingly, throughout all his subsequent notes on the fifty-second and fifty-third chapter, he never allows that any one sentence whatever has even a *secondary* reference to Christ, but that all are solely predictive by Isaiah of facts and circumstances concerning the conduct of the Jews, and the propriety of God's dealings with them in consequence of their future neglect of the denunciations against their

misconduct which *would* be made by his prophets *Jeremiah* and others; so that *my servants*, according to him, always means either the first predictor Isaiah himself, or some later *prophet*, Jeremiah, or some other, who lived during the time of the captivity and *would* repeat to the same purport as Isaiah 100 years before. This explication of these two chapters he supports still further as the right one in an *Additamentum* at the end of his notes on Isaiah, which it may be acceptable to your readers, if I transcribe verbatim, since they may otherwise have no opportunity of knowing his opinions on this subject, and at the same time of perceiving how far this last commentator supports the interpretations of Saadias and Grotius.

"Magnus est interpretum dissensus, quisnam sit *Servus Jehovæ*, de quo hic multa præclara in c. lii. et liii. Sunt, qui *Messiam* a vate hic describi putant, idque maxime ob Matth. xii. 18—21, ubi locus noster ad Jesum Messiam refertur. Sed constat evangeliorum scriptores ex singulari quadam scripta sacra interpretandi ratione, quæ tunc inter Judæos recepta esset, multa prophetarum aliorumque scriptorum Hebræorum loca de *Messia* interpretatos esse, quæ e scriptorum consilio de *aliis personis* agerent. Quare, ubi de sententia et scopo loci alicujus ex libris Hebræis questio agitur, novi testamenti auctoritas est nulla; sed semper ex scriptoris Hebræi contexu sententiarumque serie sensus erit investigandus. Atque nostrum quidem hic Messiæ mentionem facere *potuisse*, qualem quidem fingere solerent illius ævi scriptores, nec vetat res ipsa, nec orationis nexus; unde etiam nonnulli ex Hebræis eruditi, veluti

Kimchius, *quatuor* commata priora de Messia sunt interpretati. Sed quum in toto hoc libro *Servus Jehovæ* semper sit vel *propheta* vel *populus Israeliticus*, ut mox probabimus, nunquam Messias, et præterea versus septimus illum Jehovæ *ministrum*, de quo sub hujus capitis initio, eandem libertatem ex exilio annunciantem describit (vide meam interpretationem) illa sententia parum est probabilis. Sed multo minus etiam vero est similis eorum sententia, qui *Cyrum* hic intelligi volunt, de quo supra 41, 25. Nam et hic nec unquam *Jehovæ minister* appellatur, nec quo jure tam præclara de ipso dici potuerint, qualia legimus, facile patet. Sed quod rem plane perficit; est caput 49, huic loco plane parallelum, quod nemo facile ad *Cyrum* retulerit. Ac mihi quidem non ita difficile intellectu videtur, quamnam personam noster hic describat. Etenim cum *ministri Jehovæ* nomine nunc *propheta* appelletur (veluti supra 20-3, infra 44, 26, et 50, 10) nunc *populus Israeliticus*, et is quidem sæpius in his capitibus, vid. 41, 8—42, 19—43, 10—44, 1, 21—45, 4—48, 20; iis in locis, ubi ejus personæ, quæ *ministri Jehovæ* appellatione indicatur, nomen non est adjectum, ex contextu atque ex iis rebus quæ de illa persona dicuntur, quisnam sit intelligendus, debebit judicari. Atque illa quidem, quæ hoc loco *ministro illi Jehovæ* tribuuntur, non *populum Israeliticum* sed *prophetam* immi claré ostendunt. Primo enim nunquam populus Israeliticus *afflatu divino* instinctus dicitur, sed semper propheta, vid. 48, 16—59, 21—61, 1: deinde verba ver. 6, de *propheta* esse intelligenda, patet ex 49, 6, ubi confer notam. Denique versus noster *septimus* sensu prorsus convenit cum cap. 61, 1, ubi

prophetam loqui, nemo negabit. Præterea quam bene omnia, quæ hic legimus, *prophetæ* conveniant, ex ipsa nostra interpretatione, puto, patebit."

"Sunt interpretes non minus docti quam acuti, qui in priore parte *cap.* 49, *Israelitarum piorum*, sivè *paucorum* illorum, qui Jehovam colerent, cœtum; sub *ministri divini* persona inductum a poeta putent. Quam sententiam quidem non parum commendat vers. 3, ex quo primo aspectu colligeres, *populum Israeliticum*, ut sæpe alias, ita hoc in loco vocari *ministrum Jehovæ*. Fateor me ipsum diu fluctuatum esse inter illam interpretationem, et eam, quæ de *Vate* hæc omnia dicta accipit. Re tamen diligentius perpensa, cum omnem reliquam hanc orationem multo facilius ad *prophetam* quam ad *populum* referri sentirem, versum illum *tertium* aliter interpretandum esse intellexi, quam primo obtutu accipiendus videtur. Succurrit deinde dubitanti etiam hoc, quod, qui de se ipso absolute in prima persona loquitur, semper est horum Vaticiniorum auctor i. e. Jehova, sive qui ab ipso suggesta enuntiat *Vates*." p. 966.

Now why should Saadias and Grotius be accused of injury to Christianity more than Leclerc and Rosemuller, on account of all of them thus searching out the primary and literal senses of the prophetic words of Isaiah concerning the conduct of Jews afterwards, and the future admonitions to them by the prophets Jeremiah and Ezekiel relative to the captivity and restoration from it, when even Lowth, Bishop of London, found no objection against explaining *literally* those words of chap. lii. 7, "How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him

that bringeth good tidings—that saith unto Zion, thy God reigneth; and as meaning *the good news of the deliverance from Babylonish captivity* (vid. his note 7) notwithstanding that he afterwards adds "The ideas of Isaiah are in their full extent evangelical also, and accordingly St. Paul has with the utmost propriety *applied* this passage to the preaching of the Christian gospel." Let us be uniform in our judgments of others, if we wish to be just and candid and not humoursome in accusations.

I have only to add, that it may be proper to produce an example from the Talmud, that it actually on the contrary explains these chapters of Isaiah as meaning immediately the *Messiah* only without any mention of Jeremiah or any literal and other primary interpretation whatever; and among several others Raymund Martyn supplies me with the subsequent one—"In ch. liii. 4, *Ipse infirmitates nostras accepit, &c.* Judæi hæc de Messia explicunt in glossa Talmudica tract. *Sanhedrin cap.* 11. i. e. Ipse etiam Messias plagis afficietur juxta illud Esaiæ liii. 5. *Ipse vulneratus est propter prævaricationes nostras, &c.* Etiam vers. 4. scriptum est, *vere infirmitates nostras ipse accepit, &c.*" p. 127. The same explication is given also in their Chaldee paraphrases, and in Talmudic authors, and in all their allegorical or typical commentaries writ since the Talmud; nay, Jarchi adds in general by the Rabbins, for on Es. lii. 13, he says, *magistri nostri piæ memoriæ affirmant hæc de Messia dici.* p. 429. Grotius then did not follow Talmudic fables, but the grammatical expositions of some modern critical Jews since the revival of learning in the west, and

in contradiction to all former Jewish expositions in the Talmud and elsewhere. S.

P. S. I am now still more convinced that Nehumiah's prophecy is not to be found in Raymund Martyn's *Pugeo Fidei* any more than in the Talmud, but that it originated with Galatinus, who seems to have been misled by a spurious book writ by some Christian in the name of a Jew, and and it is not quite clear whether he had ever seen that book himself. For the *Pugeo Fidei* was writ and circulated in MS. long before Galatinus published his own book: now *Mausacus* in his Prolegomena to *Pugeo Fidei* accuses Galatinus of having copied from it almost every article, on which dependence may be placed as taken from genuine books of the Jews, but that he had intermixed many other articles copied by himself from spurious works, such as Martin had rejected: and among others that very book *Gale Razeia*, which Galatinus quotes along with the other *opusculum* containing Nehumiah's prophecy, which is therefore equally liable to suspicion of being spurious. The words of Mausacus are as follow— "Galatinus *ex Judæo* Christianus, libros *Arcanis* Catholicæ veritatis, *Pugione fidei* nondum edito, publicare ausus est, ex quo quæcunque sunt bonæ notæ in sua *Arcana* transfudit, suppresso Martini nomine, *non paucis etiam dubiæ et incertæ fidei additis;* ex. gr. *Gale Raseiam* Rabbini Haccalasch i. e. *revelans Arcana*—soli Galatino valde familiarem, et credendum est firmiter spuriumeum esse et suppositium; ex Buxtorfii *Bibliotheca* discamus de ejus fide multos semper dubitasse, et ulterius advertendum

est Judæis ipsis fuisse semper ignotum et ab iis nulla in pretio habitum, quamvis non erubuerit Galatinus eum tribuere celebri illi apud Hebræos magistro traditionum *Haccadosch* dicto; sed alii jam diu odorati sunt, magno illi Judæorum doctori et infestissimo Christianæ religionis hosti non posse assignari opus de mysterio Trinitatis ita distincté ut apud ipsum Athanasium tractato, et nec solidius vel fidei nostræ convenientius de eo aut de eucharistiæ sacramento disseratur apud patres ante concilium Nicenum; quod non omisere Casaubonus et Thomsonus notare, quando Scaliger, per epistolas interrogavit, qui fieri potuit, ut magister ille, ob doctrinam Rabbenu Hakkadosch dictus a sua gente, egerit de transubstantionis similumque vocabulorum explicatione: solus Galatinus ausus est *interserere hæc nauci et planè ridicula* inter innumeras alias auctoritates bonæ fidei a Martino nostro allatas."

The books mentioned by Galatinus immediately after seem to be of the same kind, namely, the *opuscula* of Nehumiah and Haccanas, and as such to be included among those opposed above by Mausacus to the good authorities made use of by Raymond Martin. S.

NOTE BY THE EDITOR.

The very profound learning, and deep reflections of my most ingenious Correspondent S. to whom this work is so much indebted, are at all times entitled to the highest consideration, but I doubt whether he has not in the present case misunderstood the assertions of P. M. who will probably in a future Number favour

me by explaining his ideas more at large, which no man can do with more candour, more integrity, and a purer love of truth.

ART. DCCXCIX. *Further Remarks on the Merits of Grotius.*

TO THE EDITOR OF CENSURA LITERARIA.

SIR,

I BEG leave to return my thanks to your respectable and learned correspondent S. for his obliging and ready attention to my request concerning the passage in Galatinus. It seems to me strongly to confirm the opinion which I hazarded of Grotius, with regard to his merit as a theological writer. He ought not to have mentioned so doubtful a circumstance as an undeniable fact; and if he chose to mention it at all, he should at least have quoted his authority for it. Both Bayle and Moreri say that Galatinus took the whole substance of his work from Porchet, without any acknowledgment of it, as Porchet himself had done confessedly from R. Martini's *Pugio Fidei*. This last work, written in the 13th century, was republished in the 17th. Which of these editions your correspondent has examined he does not say; but it seems probable that the foundation of the story is to be met with somewhere in the first. I entirely agree with S. that Galatinus had never seen the *opusculum* to which he refers, though he speaks of it purposely in ambiguous terms, and that the story itself therefore stands on a very slight foundation. Happily the

christian religion needs not such support; and it has received more injury from injudicious defenders than from open enemies. Neither of the Talmuds can be considered as any authority: they were compiled from traditions of which no other vestiges are extant; nor is it at all probable that any other antient *opuscula* are now in the hands of the Jews. For the Talmuds were a receptacle for every sort of tradition, however absurd, and however contradictory;* and Galatinus has been justly censured for paying too much attention to the Talmudic trifling.†

As to Philo, he is not singular in supposing him to have been the author of the Book of Wisdom, for Jerome mentions this to have been the opinion of some of the ancients. The Council of Trent, in conformity with some of the more ancient councils, considers this book as canonical, and it is so received at present in the Roman Catholic Church. Accordingly, in Duhamell's edition of the Vulgate, this passage, ch. 11, 12, and 13, is applied to Christ. "Quæ sequuntur, apertam de Christi passione continent prophetiam." I know not what to make of υιος θεϖ; in Grabe's and the Vatican Septuagint it

* As a proof of this, the great Rabbi Hillel affirmed, that King Hezekiah was the expected Messiah; which was very properly contradicted by R. Joseph, because Hezekiah lived under the first temple, and Zechariah prophesied of the Messiah under the second temple. R. Hillel ait: non dabitur Israeli Messias. Jam enim compotiti illi sunt vivente Ezechia. R. Joseph condonat ipsi domino ipsius. Ezechias quando vixit? Stante templo primo. At Zecharias vaticinatus est sub templo secundo: *Exulta valde*, &c. Zech. ix. 9. Talmud Sanhedrin, xi. 36.

† *Nimio studio Talmudicarum nugarum.* Rainoldus apud Coch. Sanhed. xi. 37. in notis.

ἡ παῖς Κυρίε; with which our present translation agrees. But in the old version it is rendered *God's son.* Grotius gives a decided opinion concerning this Book of Wisdom, and as usual without designing to produce any authority for it. He affirms that it was written by a Jew, after the time of Ezra, but before that of Simeon the high priest, and translated into Greek, with additions and alterations, by a certain learned christian. It seems, however, to be hardly doubtful, that both this work and Ecclesiasticus were written after the coming of Christ.

P. M.

Art. DCCC. *Reply of the Defender of Grotius.*

TO THE EDITOR OF CENSURA LITERARIA.

Sir,

It is a great obstruction to progress in literature, that authors are often too negligent concerning the minutiæ of facts, for a contrary conduct would prevent many erroneous conclusions deduced from them: thus P. M. informs us "that both Bayle and Moreri say, that Galatinus took the *whole* substance of his work from Porchet, as Porchet himself had done from Martini." * But this is impossible; for the book of Galatinus was published five years before the book of Porchet, as appears from the prolegomena of Maussacus to Martini, where Porchet's book is dated in 1520, but that of Galatinus as early

* P. M. is not answerable for the errors of Bayle or Moreri. *Editor.*

as 1515 for the first edition; but there was a second at Frankfort in 1602, from which I have made the quotations in my letter. Martini died about 1284, and his work was only read in MS. until 1651, when it was first published at Paris from a copy found in the library of Tholouse, and then almost unknown, with notes by De Voisin: this gave Galatinus and Porchet opportunity to pilfer from it without discovery, until that first publication of it. P. M. erroneously then considers that first publication as a *republication*, of which there was one indeed in 1687 at Lipsic.

Now, it is from the first edition in 1651, that I have made my quotations, and I have not found there the least good reason for his supposing it "to be probable that the foundation of the story about Nehumiah is to be met with in the first edition."* On the contrary, neither the titles to the chapters, nor the contents of them, so far as I have read them, contain any thing relative to that subject; nor yet the copious index, which has no references to any other of the names than *Haccadosch*, and these only in the notes of Devoisin, relative merely to the date at which he might have compiled the Mishna: there is also a list prefixed of all the authors quoted by Martini, in which not even the name of Haccadosch appears. But although Galatinus did not copy from Porchet, yet he certainly did from Martini; and in Collier's *Hist. Dict.* there is a truer account of these facts under the word *Raymund*, than in the

* This follows from the credit given to Bayle and Moreri. *Editor.*

above one of Bayle, and taken from some of the works of M. Simon, where *much* is rightly substituted for *whole*; as accordingly I have proved from the prolegomena by Maussacus, that Galatinus inserted *many* articles of his own from spurious books: now, that erroneous word *whole* seems to be what has misled P. M. still to conceive that something about Nehumiah is to be found in the *first* edition of Martini. As to the censure however of Galatinus by Reinoldus concerning his *nimio studio Talmudicarum nugarum*, it must be equally applicable to all the three authors, if to any one; yet it is rather an unreasonable one, since it was the very object of their books to prove, that the explications of the Jews themselves both in the Talmud and elsewhere, applied all passages in scripture relative to the Messiah in the same manner as the Christians themselves; and this first writ opportunely by Martin at a time when the Jews in Spain, before 1284, possessed almost all the learning then current in that nation, of which Martini was a native, viz. in Catalonia, and they had converted also many Christians to Judaism.

With respect to Philo that some ancient Christians had supposed him author of the Book of Wisdom, and some modern ones also, is indeed true; but then they supposed also, that the passages in that book, which were thought to glance at Christianity were writ *historically*, by his being himself converted to Christianity by St. Peter at Rome, therefore *after* the passion of Christ, not *prophetically*. What P. M. quotes from Duhamel of a prophetic nature relates merely to the *passion*

of Christ himself; but I know of no author ancient or modern, except Galatinus, who made Philo prophecy also *de Martyrum victoriis et ecclesiæ Christi statu*, or whoever before asserted that the Nicene council* received the book *tanquam sancti spiritus dictamine scriptum*, and not rather as an historic testimony concerning Christianity, in case they did not receive it as a mere Jewish book.

But however this might have been, yet at least it appears from that diversity in the opinions of the ancient Christians (if any of them did so *anciently* suppose the twentieth verse to be a *prophecy* of the death of Christ and not a *relation* of it) while some of them thus conceived Philo to have writ *before* the passion, and others made him not to become a Christian author until his journey to Rome *after* it, that neither of the opinions is entitled to much credibility. As little evidence also had Grotius to affirm that it was interpolated after Christ, though composed by a Jew before; and just as little evidence has P. M. to conceive that the whole of it was writ after Christ: I find no satisfactory evidence either way, therefore cannot but wonder at the readiness with which such affirmations† are made with so little evidence to support them, when there is sufficient evidence throughout the whole, that it was writ by a Jew, from the constant comments upon early Jewish history, while nothing is said but in *one* place, which can be strained into any reference to Christ, viz. in the second chapter;

* But other councils have. *Editor.*

† This is not an affirmation of P. M. but merely an inference: *Editor.*

yet even this of such a *general* nature relative to the unhappy fates which too often befall righteous men, that it might just as well have been writ by any rational heathen as by a Jew or Christian. It is the mode of expression chiefly which proves it to come from the pen of a Jew, by a righteous man being called *a child of the Lord*, and *a Son of God*, with other Jewish ideas; but why should these phrases be here strained into any reference to Christ, when the same phrase is applied afterwards to the whole Jewish nation? In chap. xviii. 13, the writer says, "that the Egyptians on finding their first born children slain, acknowledged *the Jewish nation to be the Son of God*," ωμολογησαν θεου υιον λαον ειναι. Tremellius rightly renders this in the singular *populum filium esse dei;* but the English is in the plural, yet in the same sense, *to be the sons of God.* Now how acts the vulgate? It omits *filium* altogether *(populum dei se esse)* and thus by substituting *se* for *illos*, it in fact makes the Egyptians *sons of God* instead of the Jews. This was apparently done, that *Son of God* before might be more readily confined by readers to Christ.

Such are the arts of some translators and the neglects of others in not adhering to the originals! An error of the press made υιος θεον in my letter instead of υιος θεου, which phrase occurs in the eighteenth verse, as παιδα κυριου does in the thirteenth, and both which Tremellius renders accurately. Both of them also are quoted by Galatinus, but here again we may observe an artifice in the vulgate; for it renders both phrases by *filium Dei*, for

the same reason as before; and hence it was, that the old English translation has *God's son*, and I suppose, in both verses, like the vulgate. The evidence of these words having any reference to Christ must have appeared very precarious to the translator, when such arts were thought requisite to support that interpretation. I cannot believe, however, that the zeal of the first Christians was so cold, or their judgment so little, as to write nineteen chapters containing reflections *altogether* relative to events in ancient Jewish history, in order to introduce so early as in the second chapter a *single* verse, in which the words *Son of God* occur, and which *may be* applied to Christ, yet *are* applied in such a levelling manner, that it makes every righteous man just as much a Son of God as Christ himself. "If the just man be the Son of God, he will help him, and deliver him from his enemies." Now why should not every just man be as well called a Son of God, as the whole Jewish nation?

S.

P. S. The above verse was plainly imitated from Psalm xxii. 8. "He trusted in God, that he would deliver him, let him deliver him seeing he delighted in him." Ηλπισεν επι κυριον ρυσασθω αυτον ὁτι Θελει αυτον. This was the very verse which the Pharisees applied to Christ at his crucifixion, "He trusted in God, let him deliver him now if he will have him, for he said I am the Son of God Πεποιθεν επι τον θεον; ρυσασθω νυν αυτον, ει θελει αυτον, &c." Now it was this application to Christ of that verse,

which probably first led the ancient Christians to apply also to Christ the imitation of it in the Book of Wisdom as abovementioned, and hence might arise the supposition that Philo was instructed in Christianity, or that he there predicted the passion of Christ; especially as the phrase *Son of God* was found in *Wisdom*, added to the words of the psalm; but no real Christian in that early age would have ever voluntarily employed *Son of God* in such a familiar and disrespectful manner as to apply it to the Jewish nation, who crucified Christ, as well as to every righteous man without distinction. And that the author himself, whoever he was, merely intended to *imitate* the words of the psalm is confirmed not only by the sense, but also by his employing the very same word ῥύσεται for *will deliver*: there seems some room also for doubt, whether the thought of the Pharisees, when they applied that verse to Christ and joined to it *the Son of God*, was not drawn from the same words in the Book of Wisdom, rather than from the words of Christ (who always called himself *the Son of Man*) in order thus to make it the more applicable to him; and thus that this speech of those Pharisees may possibly be thought to become some testimony of the existence of the Book of Wisdom before Christ.

S.

ART. DCCCI. *Supplement to some articles in the letters on Simon's coins.*

TO THE EDITOR OF CENSURA LITERARIA.

SIR,

I now find that the second tom. of Kircher's *Œdipus* was published at Rome in 1653, but as the transmission of books from foreign countries was not then so quick as it has been since, it is still very possible that Walton might know nothing of the contents of that book when he published his own in 1657. I find however that the coins of Simon had been made known to the public before the appearance of Kircher's book by a Jew of the name of Moses Alaschar; for that book of Alaschar is quoted by Morinus in his tract *de Samarit. pentat. p.* 209, which was published as early as 1631: it does not however appear whether Alaschar had or not discovered the name of *Simon* on them, but he had deciphered the legend of *liberation of Zion*, yet this alone was not sufficient to prove to Walton that they were coined since the captivity.

All legends, which had been found on Jewish coins before Alaschar, were only *shekel of Israel* or *Jerusalem the holy*, and they were of the larger kinds called shekels, which are now generally conceived to be all of them forgeries by the Jews to impose on Europeans, who were studious of Jewish antiquities: so that the too confident assertions of Scaliger, Walton and Prideaux, were founded merely on error, or at best on coins not so sufficiently authenticated as those of Simon have been since.

Hence we see how very slowly truth comes to

light; but for the examiner of Mr. Hurwitz to remain under such an old error, and make use of an exploded argument after better evidence and more certain and later facts have been laid before the public, is less excusable. As to Prideaux it seems scarcely possible, but that he must have known the name of Simon to have been found on the only Jewish coins now esteemed genuine; since I have pointed out so many authors by whom that name is mentioned before 1715 as found on such coins: his omission then of all notice of them seems to have arisen from his conviction, that coins struck under the Maccabees in so late an age as 500 years after the captivity could never prove the use of Samaritan letters before the captivity; and yet the examiner of Hurwitz has taken up as a capital evidence that very one which Prideaux rejected, and so have others. But the date of the coinage of the larger shekels was also at least uncertain, if not worse proof for Prideaux to employ.

To my former catalogue of authors who had mentioned the name of Simon being on those coins before 1715 I may now add M. Simon in his *Bibliotheque de Sanjors* in 1708, on account of his remarkable recantation of that argument in favour of the *pristine antiquity* of Samaritan letters founded on Jewish coins: his 27th and 28th chapters of tom. 2 are expressly concerning this subject. He begins thus: "One ought not to be surprised, that I have in some measure changed my opinion concerning the antiquity of Samaritan letters among the Jews; in matters of criticism one often makes new discoveries: when I first published my works, I was in the common

opinion concerning this subject with almost all other learned men; but I have since had evident proofs that what has been generally said concerning the antiquity of shekels in Samaritan letters, is not altogether well founded." *P.* 389.

"Ancient Jews, and others who have followed them, did not know that these shekels were struck long after Solomon under the Maccabees; as appears visibly, because they were struck in the name of the chief priest Simon, which name is to be found on several coins where some learned authors have read different legends." *P.* 400.

"It cannot be denied that the Maccabee chiefs made use of Samaritan letters, but it does not necessarily follow hence, that the Jews made use of them in their *most early* times." *P.* 409.

Possibly Prideaux might have been as well convinced as M. Simon, or by him that no argument in favour of the antiquity of Samaritan letters could be drawn from those coins having the name of Simon on them, yet he appears to have thought otherwise concerning the shekels with the legend of *Jerusalem the holy;* and yet Reland and Ottius had before 1715 equally reprobated these for not affording any adequate evidence, as M. Simon has both classes. But thus it happens, that some well-known and popular authors instead of assisting us to make further advances in knowledge often pull men back again into the errors of a century or two before, and mislead others to adopt their own exploded errors: it is the business then of those, who sit in judgment upon new books, to form such a better acquaintance with the criticisms of former times as to be able to correct such errors, instead of lending a helping hand

to lead us back again into an age of ignorance; of which misconduct the examiner of Mr. Hurwitz has by no means afforded any singular specimen among the public critics.

M. Simon goes on to support the propriety of his recantation by quoting some further information concerning Jewish coins from *Bouteroue* in his *Recherches des Monnoyes de France*, published as early as 1666; which being a scarce book, and containing some particulars not noticed by Reland and Ottius, I shall copy some articles in further illustration of my preceding letters. Now *Bouteroue* mentions one silver coin, which is exactly like the coin of Henrion, having a bunch of grapes on one side and on the other a lyre with the legend *liberation of Jerusalem*; but in this coin the first letter of *Schemaun*, namely S, is visible as well as the last two letters: he mentions also another coin, on which it is only the two last letters, which are defaced. These confirm the name to have been *Schemaun*. The *former* of these is in silver, but the *latter* is in bronse: this confirms that the four silver ones of the second class, struck on coins of Trajan, were of the same nature in other respects with the bronse ones, and relative to the same event with those coins examined by Reland and Ottius, which were *all* in bronse with *liberation of Jerusalem* on them also; and it does not appear that they knew of any silver ones of those smaller sizes, but only of the large silver shekels worth two shillings and four pence. Bouteroue calls the *latter* of his above two coins, viz. that in bronse a *quarter shekel*, but another in bronse he calls *a shekel*; which cannot be rightly *surnamed*, yet it

still shews how great a difference there must be in the *sizes* of those bronse coins as well as *values*. Which then of these different sizes in bronse did Barthelemy mean to say were conformable to the *fabric* of coins of Syrian kings?

It appears by Bouteroue's account of their types and legends, that these were *all* the very same with those on the smaller bronse coins of Reland and Ottius, which Ottius also had found to be of very different *weights*. Bouteroue seems more right in the *name* with respect to the silver coins; for his *first*, which was like the silver one of Henrion, he calls a quarter shekel, or *dracme*, of silver. Now a *dracme*, in French, is an eighth part of an ounce troy; if then an ounce was worth five shillings, the eighth would be seven pence halfpenny, and thus be a quarter part of two shillings and four pence, the greatest value of a shekel. It would be curious therefore to know, whether the two silver ones, in Mr. Hunter's collection, struck on coins of Trajan, weigh a *dracme* likewise: if they do, or apparently did so before worn and defaced, it would prove that *all* these silver coins were rather formed in *conformity* to the silver coins of the Roman Emperors than of Hebrew weights or the Syrian kings. It is indeed possible even that these silver ones of Bouteroue might have been originally coins of Trajan also, although so well superstruck, as that the Roman letters were all obscured: it would also be of some use to know whether there be any others of these silver coins of a different weight from those of a *dracme* (except the shekels,) or whether all of them are not conformed to the weight of Trajan's silver coins,

rather than to Hebrew weights, or to the coins of the Syrian kings. Without knowing some more of these particulars it is impossible to make any thing of Barthelemy's proof of there being a *first* class conformable to Syrian royal coins: for as Bouterouë confirms the account of Ottius, that the bronse ones are of very different *weights* and *sizes*, did Barthelemy mean that *all* of these were conformable to royal Syrian coins, or only *some* of them; if the latter what are we to think of the rest? Which nevertheless Reland and Ottius thought to be *all* equally coins of Simon Maccabee; and can any distinction in point of antiquity be made while they are *all* so similar in their types and legends? Every way then that we can survey Barthelemy's argument from such *conformity*, for making a difference between the *first* and third classes it amounts to nothing satisfactory: all the above authors have indeed omitted to mention many necessary articles of information, for which reason I have added those of Bouterouë from Simon's *Bibliotheque*, as the work itself of Bouterouë is scarce.

It appears further from Morinus in his *Exercitat. Samaritan. p.* 125, that a Moses Nashman, who lived before 1300, had mentioned his seeing some Jewish shekels of the larger class, which had on them *shekel of Israel and Jerusalem the holy*, together with pots of manna and Aaron's rod for types: if these were genuine, still from the similarity of their types to the lesser ones there is no reason to suppose these also to be of greater antiquity than those having Simon on them; therefore Prideaux had no sufficient authority for speaking so confidently of their antiquity,

and of the proof arising from such shekels concerning the antiquity of Samaritan letters. But possibly Bayer, whose book is scarce also, may have cleared up some of the above articles of insufficient information; at present I can find no foundation for attributing greater antiquity to *some* than to others; and as four of them are now with certainty proved not to be more ancient than Trajan, the same is probably the case with *all* the rest, especially as I have pointed out several circumstances attending them more suitable to Barcochebas than to Simon Maccabee.

After having thus invalidated this favourite evidence for the antiquity of Samaritan letters, readers possibly may wish to know whether there be any other which is more solid. I confess that I think there is not; what Mr. Hurwitz has urged against them I am ignorant, having not read his book; but the only other evidence for them is from Jewish tradition in the Talmud. M. Simon however himself acknowledges, that the traditions there on this subject are in direct opposition to one another, as Buxtorf has also proved ever since 1662, in his *Dissert. de origine ling. Hebr.* He says "that he is convinced that Buxtorf has sufficiently proved from the Talmud, that although in one passage [*according to the common interpretation of it*] Mar Sutra affirms the antiquity of the Samaritan letters, yet in the same place of the Gemara of the same tract, *Sanhedrin*, R. Simeon says the directly contrary after Rabbi Eleazar, and affirms that neither the Jewish language nor letters had undergone any change by Ezra." P. 425, *tom.* 2.

Such contradictory traditions then can amount to no evidence, especially since Simon adds, "that no dependence whatever is to be placed on any traditions in either of the Talmuds." Les traditions qui n'ont point d'autre fondation que le Talmud sont peu croyables; ce vaste ouvrage est si plein de contradictions, que le plus souvent il ne merite pas qu'on y ait egard: on y voit des docteurs, qui se combattent avec force les uns les autres sur leurs traditions," *p.* 427. Accordingly, learned Jews themselves have had different opinions on this subject ever since; but one further evidence has occurred to me of which I have seen no hint before, which is, that even that passage of Mar Sutra, above mentioned, which has been made the *only* foundation for the antiquity of Samaritan letters, appears to me to have been altogether misinterpreted by Raf Chasda, whose interpretation of it is subjoined in the Talmud; and that Mar Sutra actually *meant* to affirm the directly contrary to what Raf Chasda supposes him to mean: now it is that interpretation by Raf Chasda which the Jews and Christians have adopted ever since, but I apprehend very erroneously, and this is the only passage in the Talmud in favour of Samaritan letters.

I was led to this opinion by a remark in the above work of Simon, in which he asserts "that there is *one* evident *error* in the common interpretation of that passage in question (which I will mention afterwards) in regard to one assertion in it," *p.* 426. Now I wonder that the perception of this *error* did not carry him further, and as far as myself to perceive that the *whole* interpretation was erroneous,

and has made Mar Sutra affirm the directly contrary to his real meaning. Let me first quote the whole passage itself, and then point out the above *error*; the words added in Italics, between crotchets, ascertain the senses which Raf Chasda gives to the preceding words, and which have been given to them ever since; but the question is whether those be the right senses. "Dixit Mar Sutra; in principio data, est lex Israeli scripturâ Ebræâ *(Samaritanâ)* et linguâ sanctâ *(Ebræa)*: iterum data est ipsis in diebus Ezræ scripturâ Assyriacâ *(Ebræa)* et linguâ Aramæâ *(Chaldœica)*. Elegerunt pro Israelitis *(Judœis)* scripturam Assyriacam *(Ebræam)* et linguam sanctam *(Ebræam)*; et reliquerunt Idiotis (Samaritanis) scripturam Ebræam *(Samaritanam)* et linguam Aramæam *(Chaldiacam)*. Quinam sunt Idiotæ? Raf Chasda dixit Cuthæi *(Samaritani)*. Quænam est scriptura Ebræa? Raf Chasda dixit Libonaah *(Samaritana)*."

Now, at the mere reading of the above so interpreted, I think that every reader must find himself astonished at almost every *national* name being made to have a sense quite different from what he had ever been used to before; yet such is the interpretation of Chasda, if *Israelitis* means *Judœis*, as it must do if *Idiotis* means *Samaritanis*; and accordingly so all Jews and Christians understand those words, even Simon himself. But what is the *error* above referred to? It is, "that these Rabbins do not say, what is really *true*, when they affirm 'that there was left to the Arthæans *(Samaritans)* the *scriptura Ebræa* and *lingua Chaldaica*.' For it is certain that the Samaritan pentateuch is in *lingua sacra (Ebræa)*

not in *Chaldaica*, and in the same language with that of the Jews themselves, although it is writ in Samaritan letters, not in the letters of the Jewish pentateuch."

This is such an evident and gross blunder, that it seems very wonderful how the interpretation by Raf Chasda could be so generally adopted, and he must therefore certainly have mistaken the sense of *Idiotis*, when he explains it to mean the *whole nation of Samaritans* instead of the *private commonalty of the Jews*, which is the most proper and general meaning of *Idiotis*; and of whom it is actually true that their paraphrases of the pentateuch in the *lingua Chaldaica* were writ in the letters of the *lingua sancta*, i. e. in Hebrew letters; but it is not true of the Samaritans, as Simon rightly remarks: the latter had indeed a paraphrase likewise, but this was in Samaritan letters as well as language. Now this alteration of the sense of *Idiotis* necessarily alters the sense of every *national* name throughout the whole passage, and restores them to such senses, as they have every where else and ought to have here also. The explications in the crotchets will then stand thus. "Dixit Mar Sutra: In principio data est lex Israeli (et Judæis et Israelitis) scripturâ Ebræâ (Ebræâ et linguâ sanctâ (Ebræa): iterum data est lex ipsis diebus Ezræ scripturâ Assyriacâ (Syriaca et Samaritana) et lingua Aramæâ (Chaldaica). Elegerunt pro Israelitis (Samaritanis) scripturam Assyriacam (Samaritanam) et linguam sanctam (Ebræam) et reliquerunt Idiotis (privatis Judæis) scripturam Ebræam (Ebræam) et linguam Aramæam (Chaldaicam)."

Thus every assertion is true and every name has its right and common sense; but it must be observed that when Mar Sutra says that *iterum data est lex scripturâ Assyriacâ et linguâ Aramæâ*, he cannot mean that these two innovations were united in *one* and the same copy, for this would not be true; but only that these *two* innovations were certainly made under Ezra, in two *different* copies however of the pentateuch. For the Samaritan copy was afterwards writ in Samaritan *letters* for the *Samaritans* (Assyriaca,) and the Jewish copy was afterwards paraphrased in the Chaldee *language* (Aramæa) for the use of *private Jews*. That Sutra thus meant *different copies* for the use of *different persons* is evident by his subsequent words, *eligerunt* and *reliquerunt*. When persons make *choice* of any thing, they must necessarily choose one out of *two* or more things; and thus out of the *two* innovations they *chose* Assyrian letters for the Samaritans; but thus the *second* innovation of Chaldee language they left *(reliquerunt)* to the *private Jews*. He could not have used *reliquerunt* with any propriety, if he had not meant that what was thus *left* was the remainder of the *two* innovations before mentioned, and which were after this manner *divided* between the copies by the Jews and Samaritans.

By this exposition, which necessarily results from giving the right sense to *Idiotis*, it appears that even this passage in the Talmud, if rightly explained, affirms the present Hebrew letters to have been the original letters of the pentateuch, not the Samaritan ones: and this also several Jews have asserted in the same chapter of the Talmud, and others ex-

pressed their astonishment that *Sutra* should say that the Samaritan letters were the original ones, as Simon himself thus affirms, "in the very same place of the Gemava of the tract *Sanhedrin*, R. Simeon says expressly after R. Eleazar the directly contrary to Mar Sutra above; he there affirms, that as the language of the people of Israel was not changed by Ezra, so also there was no change in their letters at that time." P. 425.

Buxtorf also produces the testimony of R. Abraham Harophe in these words—"*Obstupescit* cor meum, quomodo id ascendere potuerit in animum Mar Sutræ: an instar hominis est Deus, ut mutet aliquid circa scripturam legis, prout ab ipsomet est data lex publice in oculis totius Israelis in monte Sinæ? Aut ut peniteat ipsum *linguæ illius* propriæ Judæorum—mutando eam in *alienam scripturam* tempore Ezræ," *p.* 199. He was misled by the false interpretation of Sutra's words, which Raf Chasda had given in the Talmud, as all others have been ever since, and his implicit reverence for the Talmud would not permit him to suppose that there was any mistake concerning the *sense* of any thing affirmed there: he differed so far however from Raf Chasda, that he attempted to explain *Assyriaca* in a little different sense, but it is a puerile and unsolid evasion; he did not perceive where the real and original error existed, i. e. in the erroneous sense of *Idiotis;* and if this word be capable of such a further sense in Hebrew as it has sometimes in Greek and Latin of expressing contempt on account of ignorance, I should not wonder if Chasda was not hence only induced to apply it to the *Samaritans*

rather than to the Jews; but almost certainly he has given a blundering explication of the true facts which Mar Sutra had expressed both properly and intelligibly, and also agreeably to the common senses elsewhere of the words he employed. Chasda is moreover equally singular in the use of his own word *Libonaah*, which, I believe, does not occur any where else to mean *Samaritans:* once I supposed it to be derived from *Libanus*, that mountain being the boundary between Cœlosyria and Palestine, beyond which latter the Jewish territories did not extend; but then it would rather denote Syrian than Samaritan letters. Therefore I rather presume the word to be formed from *Lebonah*, a town mentioned in Judges, xxi. 19, and situated near Bethel and Sichem in Samaria. We know, that in Ecclesiasticus, chap. 50, Samaritans are meant by *men of Sichem*, and might therefore be as well denoted by men of Lebonah.

Upon the whole then it hence appears, that there never was from the first any good foundation for conceiving the Jewish scriptures to have been writ in Samaritan letters originally, from any ancient traditions in the Talmud any more than from any ancient Jewish coins discovered in modern times, and the opinion has been founded altogether upon error in both cases; in the one case upon an error in language, in the other on an error in reasoning, or in reading, or both.

It is however true that there is so much similarity between Hebrew letters and Samaritan ones, that they seem to have been originally both of the same stock, and either that the less complicated Hebrew,

letters were an abridged manner of writing Samaritan letters, or else contrariwise the Samaritan ones a more laborious and intricate mode invented afterwards for forming Hebrew letters. M. Simon is of the former opinion, that Hebrew letters were a cursory and epistolic mode of writing Syrian ones, which may thus be considered as capitals when contrasted with a small running hand. But I do not perceive how we can hence form any conclusion as to which of the two is most *ancient*. For mankind sometimes indeed refine through time by adopting greater simplicity, but at other times by introduction of more intricate modes of ornament; thus the Saxon letters were only Latin letters spoilt by an excess of intricate ornament, while, on the contrary, Greek and Latin letters seem to have been simplifications of the more intricate oriental letters. No objection then against the *pristine antiquity* of Hebrew letters in the Jewish scriptures can be formed upon this foundation any more than on any others: and possibly the sole cause of any such opinion having become current among the Jews, as that Ezra had introduced a new species of letters, may have been, that those Jews and Israelites who remained in Judea and Israel during the captivity, had then so entirely lost the use of their pristine Hebrew letters, and so universally along with the Samaritans adapted Syrian letters, that upon the return from captivity they thought the original Hebrew letters of the Jews to be quite a new set brought with them from Babylon; although they were in reality only the ancient Hebrew letters preserved there, when they had been

lost and forgot every where in Judea itself and in the kingdom of Israel.

Lastly, the above right explication of Mar Sutra's words gives information also concerning a fact, which has been much disputed among learned Christians, this is, what the *origin* was of the Samaritan pentateuch, and what *antiquity* ought to be attributed to it; for some have supposed it to be a copy derived from such as were current in the kingdom of Israel, before it ceased to be a kingdom; but this is no way probable, for Hebrew letters, were then understood and current there, not Samaritan ones, which were not introduced there until afterwards. Leclerc again has supposed it to be derived from that copy of the scriptures, which was carried to Samaria by the priest, whom Esarchaddon sent there to teach the Samaritans the law of the Jews, and who turned, as he supposed, the Hebrew letters into Samaritan ones. Others have ascribed a later origin to it, but without being able to determine the precise time. Now Mar Sutra has there determined the time, so far as his own opinion and information are able to determine it, namely, when Ezra formed a corrected copy of the Hebrew Bible; and this seems no way improbable: for Ezra finding, that all the Jews as well as Israelites, who had not quitted Palestine had forgot the Hebrew letters, and many of those also who returned from captivity were better acquainted with Chaldean or Syrian letters than the original Hebrew ones, might just as naturally direct the Hebrew letters to be turned into Syrian or Samaritan ones for the benefit of the Israelites, as to paraphrase the Hebrew

language by a Chaldee translation for the benefit of those Jews who had lost the Hebrew tongue. And Simon is himself of opinion that *Chaldee paraphrases* were in use as early as the time of Ezra, although not the same paraphrases which we have now; why then also not just as well the scriptures be writ then first in *Samaritan letters*, both alterations being of equal benefit to some or other of the Jews and Israelites. "Les paraphrases Chaldaiques on peut a la verité faire remonter jusqu' au tems d' Esdras," *p.* 426. These circumstances confirm the fact asserted by Sutra, *that the law was then given in two new modes, namely, of Samaritan letters, and also of the Chaldee language; the former for the benefit of the Israelites, the latter for that of the Jews chiefly.* The above true state then of the question concerning the antiquity of Samaritan letters shews with what caution readers ought to trust implicitly to the opinions even of such writers, as in general appear to be writers of fidelity; for sometimes they hastily or negligently take up with ill-founded facts, and draw from them such ill-founded consequences as to form an intricate mass of error, from which the subject is scarcely ever altogether extricated in future times to the perfect satisfaction of all parties, while the authority of former learned men stands so much in contradiction to the evidence of our own reason, that many are almost tempted to disbelieve it, when thus opposed by the respect due to the reason of others during a century or two before. It is fortunate, however, that I have been anticipated by an author so intelligent concerning such subjects as M. Simon. S.

P. S. It seems probable that the Hebrew word expressing *Idiota* does admit of a like contemptuous sense as in Greek and Latin, because I find that it admits it in Arabic. In the *Coran Sur* lxii. 2, Mahomet, says, "that he was sent *an apostle among Idiotas*," and immediately adds, *for they were before in gross error.* Also in the Arabic translation of Erpenius, of the N. Test. *Greeks* as opposed to Jews is rendered by *Idiotas* in Acts xix. 10 & 17; also in xxi. 28, as being still in error from ignorance. And this sense might mislead R. Chasda to apply it to Samaritans, when it only meant to distinguish *private* Jews from their rulers and teachers.

S.

ART. DCCCII. *On the modern Corruption of Sternhold's Version of the Psalms.*

TO THE EDITOR OF CENSURA LITERARIA.

SIR,

As some persons, I find, have doubted whether there are so many variations between the ancient editions of Sternhold's version and the modern ones, as I have mentioned in my last, the following comparison between them will sufficiently convince them of the truth of the fact with respect to that short portion alone of the ninetieth Psalm.

" *Edit. of* 1597.

℣. 2. The earth and all abroad,

Edit. of 1715.

The earth and world abroad.

V. 3. And then thou sayest againe return,
Againe ye sons of men.
Thou unto them dost say again
Return ye sons of men.

V. 5. All as a sleep and like the grass.
Ev'n as a sleep or like the grass.

V. 7. And of thy fervent wrath and fume
And of thy fervent wrath O Lord.

V. 8. Our privie faults, yea, eke our thoughts,
Our privy faults yea all our thoughts.

V. 10. Our time is threescore yeeres and ten
That we do live on mould,
If we see fourscore, surely then
We count him wondrous old.

V. 10. *The time of our abode on earth*
Is three score years and ten,
But if we come to four score years,
Our life is grievous then.

V. 11. Yet of this time the strength and age,
The which we count upon,
Is nothing else but painfull grief.

V. 11. *For of this time the strength and chief,*
We dote so much upon,
Is nothing else but pain and grief.

V. 12. Who once doth know what strength is there,
What might thine anger hath.

V. 12. *What man doth know what power, and*
What might thine anger hath."

Now if so many alterations were made, many for the worse and none for the better, except sometimes an obsolete word removed, it were to be wished that a different plan had been adopted, that of equally removing the most flat and vulgar expressions, in order that by substituting more select phrases the insipidity might be removed without destroying the simplicity of language. This is an excellence in poetry, of which the writers in Elizabeth's reign seem to have had no conception; for they often overwhelm their thoughts under a profusion of high-flown, pompous and turgid expressions, which lift us up to the third heavens, and then in the very next line we sink down again, along with Sternhold, far below the level of mediocrity, and down to the very dust of the ground. Now as *essences* are so much in fashion, it seems to me possible however to have extracted from Sternhold's lines an *essence* of some better poetic effect, by the preparation above-mentioned; whereas the opposition between the high flights of other Elizabethan poets and their inclination to creep upon the ground, presents itself so continually, as renders the operation more difficult in them, and indeed almost impossible without a double distillation from the grosser materials, in order to be able to extract any poetic essence, even in almost any two stanzas together, without the spirit evaporating altogether. The Psalms by Sternhold, so modelled, would have been more acceptable to common congregations than any new version in a higher style; and it was with this view, that I have given a sample of such an *essence of Sternhold*, in which more

is retained from the ancient edition of 1597, than from the variations in the later ones.

S.

In Shakespear's *As You Like It* the following lines are known to all.

"Freeze, freeze thou bitter sky,
Thou dost not bite so nigh
As benefits forgot;
Tho' thou the waters *warp*,
Thy *sting* is not so *sharp*
As friends rememb'red not."

But I doubt whether all persons understand in the same sense the line *Tho' thou the waters warp*. The word *warp* is now always used in a bad sense to denote the perversion of an object from its right state to one less natural or proper, as when a board is said to be warped: among weavers only it is still used in a sense approaching nearer to its original meaning of *to work*; thus their first parallel threads extended for a web are called the warp, as being the foundation of the *work*, which are afterwards crossed by other threads by means of the shuttle, and called the *woof*. Did Shakespear then mean to suggest, that the conversion of water into ice might be considered as a perversion of it from its right state? This may be possible, and, I believe, it is thus generally understood; yet it seems to be both an uncommon and even harsh kind of expression. Or did he allude to the parallel threads of icicles hanging from the eaves of houses, which in the first scene of

this act he calls the *icy phang*, and may here mean by the *sharp sting?* Now I doubt whether he meant either sense, and did not rather use *warp* here in its original sense of merely *to work upon* the waters, which primitive sense the word still retained in his age, and is often employed in that sense in the version by Sternhold; nay, I know of no example there, where it has any other meaning, the idea of perversion not being then included in *warping*. Thus in Ps. 52.

"Why doth thy minde yet still devise
Such wicked wiles to *warp?*
Thy tongue untrue in forging lyes
Is like a rasour *sharp*."

Where we may observe also that it rhymes to the very same word *sharp* as in the poet, and is a mere variation of the prose version, "Thy tongue deviseth mischiefs like a sharp razor, *working* deceitfully." This extensive sense *weorpan* always has in the Anglo-Saxon, i. e. *projicere*, *jactare*, *immittere*, and *to do* any thing in general; a mole was called a mould warp, on account of its *throwing out* the mould and *working* under ground. Again in the seventh Psalm,

"He whets his sword, his bowe he bends,
Aiming where he may hit,
And doth prepare his mortal *darts*,
His arrows *keen* and *sharp*,
For them that do me persecute,
Whilst he doth mischiefe *warp*."

Here *warp* means again to work mischief in the

original sense of the Saxon word; in the prose it is only *conceived mischief:* but the edition of Sternhold of 1715 has changed it to *harp.* "And do at mischief harp." In another Psalm we have,

"What vantage or what thing
Gettest thou thus for to *sting?*
Thy tongue doth hurt, I weene,
No less than arrows *keen.*" 120th.

In these lines we find so many thoughts, words and rhymes, similar to those lines of Shakespear, that one would be almost tempted to think those psalms to have been uppermost in the poet's mind at the time of composition, and although he followed the ungodly trade of a poet, yet that he did sometimes go to church and sing psalms, and even remembered them the next day: he had only to change the meaning *mutatis mutandis* from inveighing against the malice of open enemies to the above lines against the ingratitude of false friends; and we have no reason to conceive that he meant any thing more by *to warp the waters* than to *operate upon, or work upon the waters,* agreeably to the sense of warp in the version of his cotemporary Sternhold. We have seen in the case of Coligny's ghost how ready he was to turn every thing which he read to use, and pluck flowers from every bush in his way.

P.S. It being mentioned in *Peacham's Gentleman,** that Hawking has been noticed by Firmicus, in his astrology, who lived under Constantine, I find there the following words: "In Virgine si Mercurius fuerit inventus, quicunque sic eum habuerint fortes erunt et industrii, sagaces, equorum nutritores, accipitrum,

* See Article on Hawking, Vol. X.

falconum cæterarumque avium, quæ ad aucupia pertinent, similiter et canum, molossorum, vertagorum et qui sunt ad venationes accommodati. Homines quoque et milites tenebunt, omniaque munimenta ad militiam pertinentia, ac plurimum equestri jaculatione delectabuntur." *Lib.* v. 8. Query whether the Greeks had preceded the Romans in this art?

S.

ART. DCCCIII. *On Shakspeare's Learning.*

TO THE EDITOR OF CENSURA LITERARIA.

SIR,

NOTWITHSTANDING Dr. Farmer's Essay on the deficiency of Shakspeare in learning, I must acknowledge myself to be one who does not conceive that his proofs of that fact sufficiently warrant his conclusions from them: "that his *studies* were demonstrably confined to nature and his own language" is, as Dr. Farmer concludes, true enough; but when it is added "that he only picked up in conversation a familiar phrase or two of French, or remembered enough of his school-boy's learning to put *hig, kag, hog*, in the mouths of others" (*p.* 93); he seems to me to go beyond any evidence produced by him of little knowledge of languages in Shakspeare. He proves indeed sufficiently, that Shakspeare chiefly read English books, by his copying sometimes minutely the very errors made in them, many of which he might have corrected, if he had consulted the original Latin books made use of by those writers: but this does not prove that he was not able to read La-

tia well enough to examine those originals if he chose; it only proves his indolence and indifference about accuracy in minute articles of no importance to the chief object in view of supplying himself with subjects for dramatic compositions. Do we not every day meet with numberless instances of similar and much greater oversights by persons well skilled in Greek as well as Latin, and professed critics also of the writings and abilities of others? If Shakspeare made an ignorant man pronounce the French word *bras* like the English *brass*, and evidently on purpose as being a probable mistake by such an unlearned speaker; has not one learned modern in writing Latin made *Paginibus* of *Paginis*, and another mentioned a person as being born in the reign of Charles the First, and yet as dying in 1600, full twenty-five years before the accession of that king? Such mistakes arise not from ignorance, but a heedless inattention, while their thoughts are better occupied with more important subjects; as those of Shakspeare were with forming his plots and his characters, instead of examining critically a great Greek volume to see whether he ought to write *on this side of Tiber* or *on that side of Tiber*; which however very possibly he might not be able to read; but Latin was more universally learnt in that age, and even by women, many of whom could both write and speak it; therefore it is not likely that he should be so very difficient in that language, as some would persuade us, by evidence, which does not amount to sufficient proofs of the fact. Nay, even although he had a sufficiency of Latin to understand any Latin book, if he chose to do it, yet how many in modern

times, under the same circumstances, are led by mere indolence to prefer translations of them, in case they cannot read Latin with such perfect ease, as never to be at a loss for the meaning of a word, so as to be forced to read some sentences twice over before they can understand them rightly. That Shakspeare was not an eminent Latin scholar may be very true, but that he was so totally ignorant as to know nothing more than *hic, hæc, hoc,* must have better proofs before I can be convinced; and the same in regard to French likewise; his errors concerning both which seem to have arisen either from mere indifference about petty articles of accuracy, or else studiously, in order to suit with some of his ignorant characters, from whom one might as well expect good French and Latin as from Master Punch.

I have been confirmed in this opinion by a casual discovery of Shakspeare having imitated a whole French line and description in a long French epic poem, written by Garnier, called the *Henriade*, like Voltaire's, and on the same subject, first published in 1594, and which poem he not improbably read as well as Hollinshed, in order to search for subjects for the tragic drama. This imitation occurred to me many years ago, and as the original French lines in question were not quoted by Steevens, nor do I know that they have been noticed by any later editor, I will therefore repeat what occurred to me on this subject long ago.

In *As You Like It*, Shakspeare gives an affecting description of the different manners of men in the different ages of life, which closes with these lines.

" What ends this strange eventful history
Is second childishness and mere oblivion,
Sans teeth, sans eyes, sans taste, sans every thing."

Now one cannot but wonder what could induce him to end his serious description of human life with a line which approaches to a low kind of the ludicrous by that gibberish of a repeated intermixture of French and English, as if he was ridiculing a foreigner who spoke bad English; it is like comic farce after a deep tragedy. One would have rather expected that he would have closed his account with a line, which had expressive strength at least, if not elegance to recommend it; and why have recourse for an insipid preposition to a language of which he is said to have been totally ignorant? I always supposed therefore that there must have been some peculiar circumstance well known in those times, which must have induced him to give this motley garb to his language and thus transfer buffoonery to a tragic subject: but what that circumstance was I could not discover until I accidentally in a foreign literary journal, met with a review of a republication of that poem of Garnier at Paris, in which were inserted, as a specimen of the poem, a description of the appearance of the ghost of Admiral Coligny on the night after his murder at the massacre of St. Bartholomew, and in the following lines:

" Sans pieds, sans mains, sans nez, sans oreilles, sans yeux,
Meurtri de toutes parts; la barbe et les cheveux
Poudreux, ensanglantez, chose presque incredible!
Tant cette vision etoit triste et horrible!"

Here it immediately appeared to what author Shakespeare had gone for the archetype of his own description of the last stage of old age, which, by a parody on the above lines, he meant to represent like to that mutilated ghost; and this seems to indicate that he had read that poem in the original; for we even find the *meurtri de toutes parts* imitated by *sans any thing*. A friend of mine formerly mentioned this to Mr. Steevens, and he has briefly noticed this parody, if I recollect rightly, in his joint edition along with Johnson, but he did not copy the original lines of Garnier; nor so far as I know any editor since; which however are too remarkable to be altogether consigned to oblivion; and it is not very likely, that any Englishman will ever read through that long dull poem; neither should I myself have known of those lines, if they had not been quoted as a specimen. Steevens's note is so very brief as to be quite obscure in regard to what consequence he thought deducible from the imitation: he seems to suggest as if there might have been some English translation of the poem published, though now unknown; this is the constant refuge for Shakspeare's knowledge of any thing writ originally in another language. But even if the fact were true, yet no translator would have preserved the repetition of that word *sans;* for this he must have gone to the French poem itself, therefore must at least have been able to read that line in French, if not also the whole description of the ghost; and if that, why not able also to read other French books? It may, indeed, be *supposed*, that some friend may have shewn him the above description, and explained to him the

meaning of the French lines, but this is only to make a second supposition in order to support a former one made without sufficient foundation: we may just as well make a single supposition at once, that he was himself able to read and understand it, since he has evidently derived from it his own description of the decrepitude of old age. But in truth I wish that he had never seen the ghost, nor had been frightened by its horrible appearance from a more pathetic lamentation over the last joyless state of man, than by such a minute enumeration of the lameness, aches, bruises, corns and cramps incident to the mortal machine in the fifth and last act of human life. Upon the whole, if his copy of a single word from the old translation of Plutarch, viz. "on *this* side Tiber," is a proof of his having read that historian, why also is not his copy of the repetition of *sans*, and his parody of Coligny's ghost, an equally good proof of his having read the poem of Garnier in the original French language. To reason otherwise is to say, that when he gives us bad French, this proves him not to understand it; and that when he gives us good French, applied with propriety and even with ingenuity, yet this again equally proves that he neither understood what he wrote, nor was so much as able to read the French lines, which he has thus so wittily imitated, instead of so pathetically as one would have rather wished.

S.

Art. DCCCIV. *On the best mode of explaining the Scriptural prophecies.*

TO THE EDITOR OF CENSURA LITERARIA.

SIR,

Although the *particular* case of Grotius has been sufficiently discussed, yet there result from it considerations of a general nature, which materially affect other commentators, relative to that mode of explaining scriptural prophecies, which has ever since been adopted by the best of them, more or less, down to Lowth, Bishop of London, who has followed that example more than others; and these demand illustration, in order that the authors of them may not be involved in a similar condemnation of weakening the evidence in favour of Christ being the promised Messiah. Now it was an ancient and useful advice *nequid nimis*, and this is equally applicable to the present and other subjects of literature, as to the conduct of men in common life: Horace also had long ago observed *Brevis esse laboro obscurus fio;* when men run into extremes they introduce greater difficulties than what they seek to avoid; prudence therefore ought to restrain them near to the medium point between excess and deficiency, both of which terminate in error. It has been the want of adhering to this rule, which has caused the discordant opinions concerning the right mode of interpreting the prophecies concerning Christ; and even an author, who does adhere to it, will be in danger from that very circumstance of his medium neutrality of dissatisfying two opposite parties, both of whom run

into extremes. Thus I have mentioned already the too great disposition of the *ancient* Jews for finding typical, allegorical, and mystical senses hidden in every part of scripture, especially relative to the Messiah; but the fault of the *late* learned Jews since Saadias has been the directly opposite, by their finding every where nothing but *literal* senses applicable altogether to the history of the times in question, without having any signification prefigurative of events concerning the Messiah: the earlier Christian expositors were too much inclined to follow the example of the ancient Jews; hence when later ones of better discernment began to reprobate that method, they fell under the censure of favouring the literal senses of the later Jews, and of undermining Christianity. *Hinc illæ lachrimæ.* Even in the pastoral song of Solomon, where an expressive description is given of the pleasant arrival of spring after the severity of winter, the ancient Jews found hidden under it a secondary and mystical description of the happy arrival of the kingdom of the Messiah after a long period of human sin and misery. "Lo, the winter is past, the rain is over and gone, the flowers appear upon the earth, the time of the singing of birds is come, and the voice of the turtle is heard; the fig tree putteth forth her green figs, and the vines give a good smell, arise and come away." *Ch.* ii. 11. This is the Jewish typical commentary *Tikkune Soh* explains thus—"Canticum Canticorum est illius regis, ad quem *Pax* proprie spectat, illud canticum locum habebit illo tempore quo peccatores ex mundo perierent," i. e. tempore Messiæ. Every one sees the extravagance of

such explanations as these; but when you apply the same censure to some other passages in scripture, which have been more anciently considered as prophetically descriptive of the Messiah, then some are apt to exclaim, no, now you go too far; for to give a mere literal and historic sense to such passages, as have been always considered to be predictive of the Messiah, is to undermine Christianity. Where then is the point at which commentators can stop with the approbation of all readers? Different readers will have different opinions, and what one approves another will reject. Fortunately however the medium point between too typical and too literal explications is not of the nature of a mathematical point, which has neither breadth nor thickness, but it admits of a great degree of *latitude* toward both extremes; so that expositors may depart from the precise medium point and tend toward either extreme without any detriment to the prophecies concerning the Messiah; for either way there will be still prophetic passages enough left, which will satisfy the demands of both parties of readers, and they may both of them, without danger to their Christian faith, peaceably and charitably give up many prophecies to their Christian neighbours, yet without deeming them as turned into adversaries, or themselves deprived of sufficient evidence of the full literal accomplishment of other prophecies in Jesus Christ.

Those readers, who after the ancient Jews and first Christians, find predictive descriptions of the Messiah and mystical hidden senses in almost every noun, verb, and participle of scripture, must end in fanatical enthusiasm; while those on the other hand,

who adhere so strictly to literal interpretation, along with the later Jews, as to admit of no parts of scripture having a latent and secondary meaning expressed in an allegoric manner by a more literal one, whether by *words* or by *actions*, must end in scepticism concerning the evidence of Christianity deduced from the prophetic parts of scripture. But there is a medium way between these extremes, which has with propriety been adopted by expositors since the examples set by Grotius, that of admitting nothing as typical of the Messiah, which beside its literal meaning and application to historic events, does not carry with it some strong and reasonable evidence of some distant future event being actually shadowed out and prefigured by some present one; but in doing this different persons may still disagree with respect to more or less, just as in politics and many other subjects, yet without any essential detriment to Christianity in the one case, any more than to good government in the other; and by these means they may keep some where in the *middle* between opposite extremes, instead of running along with the Jews from one extreme to another. This may indeed be difficult to execute while the judgments of readers are so different, but it can produce no ill consequences, although an expositor should deviate a little too much from the true medium either way, unless to those, who possess nothing of the spirit of Christianity while they dispute about the proofs of it, by their having no charitable forbearance for the errors and different opinions of one another. It might just as well be expected that every man's palate should equally relish the very

same food, and should therefore quarrel with his next-door neighbour because he loved beef rather than mutton.

Now that there are *some* passages not only in profane authors but also in scripture, in which beside the first most obvious and ostensible meaning, a different latent and secondary one is understood and obliquely thus conveyed to readers, is so evident, that examples of it occur in every author ancient or modern. Thus when Tarquin was afraid to send a message to his son by *words*, he cut off in presence of the messenger the highest tops of a bed of poppies with his walking stick, the latent meaning of which, when reported to his son, was immediately understood by him to be, that he should cut off the heads of the principal citizens. Here the typical sense was conveyed by an *action*, but in many other cases by a relation in *words* only. Thus in 2 Chr. xxv. 18, "Joash King of Israel sent to Amaziah King of Judah saying, the thistle that was in Lebanon sent to the cedar that was in Lebanon, saying, give thy daughter to my son to wife, and there passed by a wild beast and trode down the thistle." Sometimes also *words* are united with *gestures*, and sometimes also *gestures* may supply the place both of *words* and *actions*. Such allegoric passages occur so often both in profane and scriptural writers, and the meaning is so clear, that no disagreement ever arises concerning them any more than of the allegories in Esop's fables; but there are also others which may be of more doubtful interpretation. But, on the contrary, there are some in which the typical or latent meaning intended to be conveyed, is, as the

Bishop of London justly observes, more clearly to be understood than to what the literal meaning of the words themselves refers. This use of allegoric and typical expressions was more frequent in ancient times than at present, and scriptural language every where abounds with it; for which frequency Warburton has assigned as a reason, that in the infancy of language information by *gestures*, or *actions*, or *allegoric words*, helped to supply the poverty of language, and the deficiency of skill in argumentation. It is evident also by the success of Esopian allegoric fables in the instruction of children, that it is an easy and popular mode of information. Sometimes also *words* are annexed to *actions* for the better conception of the meaning. Thus Isaiah relates, "that he walked naked and barefoot three years for a sign unto Egypt, that the King of Assyria should so lead the Egyptians away prisoners."

Those readers then, who reduce along with the later Jews all passages in scripture strictly to their literal senses, without allowing any latent, secondary, and typical meaning whatever, err as much in one extreme, as the ancient Jews did in the other, both in the Talmud and elsewhere, by turning every thing into allegory. But what may at first seem wonderful is, that the same commentator should be censured for following the typical senses of the Talmud too much, and yet equally censured for adopting the too *literal* explications of the later Jews, although these two archetypes are in direct opposition to one another by running into opposite extremes: this could only arise from a similar cause, as in political factions, in which every man, who is neutral

enough to follow his own best reason only, and not the hue and cry of party disputes, will be certain of being equally blamed by both parties, and blamed for opposite defects. Grotius rightly allowed those passages to have a literal meaning only, which he could not deny consistently with reason and truth; but nevertheless he maintained that others beside the primary and literal sense had also a secondary and typical one relative to the Messiah, wherever he found good critical reasons to maintain it consistently with apparent truth; and in this conduct he has been followed, and thereby amply justified, by the Bishop of London, as will appear by the subjoined note to ch. xl. ver. 1; and this equally vindicates that mode of exposition by both authors at the same time, which it was my object both to illustrate and justify by the foregoing observations, lest he should equally fall under a similar condemnation.

"Isaiah in the foregoing chapter had delivered a very explicit declaration of the impending dissolution of the kingdom of Judah, and of the *captivity* of the royal house of David and of the people also under the Kings of Babylon. But as the subject of his subsequent prophesies was to be chiefly of a consolatory kind, he opens them here with giving a promise of the restoration of the kingdom and the *return* of the people from that captivity by the merciful interposition of God in their favour. The views of the prophet however are not *confined* to this event; but as that restoration was necessary in the design and order of Providence for the fulfilling of God's promises of establishing a more glorious and an everlasting kingdom, under the Messiah, of the

family of David, the prophet *connects* these two events together, and scarcely ever treats of the *former* without throwing in some intimation [*typical prefigurations*] of the latter; and sometimes is so fully possessed with the glories of the future more remote kingdom, that he seems to leave the more immediate subject of his commission [*concerning the return from Babylon*] almost out of the question. This *evangelical sense* of the prophecy is so apparent, and stands forth *in so strong a light*, that *some* interpreters *cannot see that it has any other*, and will not allow the prophecy *to have any relation at all to the return from Babylon*; it may be useful then to consider carefully *the images* under which he displays his subject—if the *literal* sense of his prophecy cannot be questioned, much less surely can the object of the *typical* sense, which, I think, is allowed on all hands, even by Grotius himself. If both senses are to be admitted, here is a plain example of the allegoric or double sense, as it is commonly called, of prophecy, which the sacred writers of the New Testament clearly suppose, and according to which they frequently frame their interpretations of passages in the Old Testament. Of the foundation of which sort of allegory see my book *de S. Poes. Hebr. Prælect.* 11.

Agreeably to this account I have mentioned before, that the Bishop explains *literally* those words "How beautiful upon the mountains," &c. of the good news of the delivery from Babylon, which the evangelist applies *prophetically* to the advent of Christ; and the same in a variety of other passages afterwards. Now this serves as a lesson and ex-

ample to us of the great *latitude* of that medium mode of explication between the two opposite extremes of being *all literal* or *all typical*, which the prophecies admit of, and which readers may reasonably allow to their expositors and to one another, without loading them with suspicions of an intention to undermine the evidences for the Messiahship of Jesus. For here we find that this learned advocate for Christianity is directly at variance with another more ancient advocate, *Origen*, who was *one of those*, who would not allow these prophecies of Isaiah and *the servant* referred to in them *to have any relation at all to the return from Babylon*, and *he could not see that they had any other sense than what related to the Messiah*, just as many do at present; in which he differed also (just as well as the Bishop) from Saadias, Grotius, and Rosemuller, as to *my servant* referring to *some prophet* or other, instead of *the whole people of Israel in captivity*; and yet there is no need of testimonies to prove that those writers were all equally true Christians or well designing men. But after so many different explications as have been given of the contents of the fifty-third chapter, both by ancients and moderns, Jews and Christians, during the space of 1600 years from the time of Origen, it is certainly somewhat remarkable, that the sense which Origen reprobated in the beginning of that period, should be the very sense which the late Bishop of London should defend at the end of it, namely, that *my servant* means *the whole people of Israel in captivity*, and thus should justify the interpretation of those Jews of that early age; although in opposition to Origen the most

Christian advocate then existing.* Let this example be applied to the case of others in their not rejecting some *literal* explications of the modern Jews, which the conviction of their reason could not

* The words of Origen are these "Memini me olim in quâdam cum Judæorum sapientibus disputatione usum de hac prophetiâ in capite 53, quam Judæus aiebat vaticinari *de uno integro populo dispersq et percusso* occasione dispersionis Judæorum inter gentes plurimas—in ea disputatione multis verbis coargui, hæc, quæ de unâ aliquâ personâ prædicta sunt, non rectè illos referre *ad integrum populum*; sciscitabarque ex cujus persona dicatur "Hic peccata nostra fert,"—manifestè enim hi qui dudum in peccatis fuerant, servatoris passione sanati hæc dicunt apud prophetam futura videntem, sive sint ex illo populo sive ex gentibus,—si enim juxta illorum opinionem *populus* est de quo prophetatur, quomodo propter iniquitates populi dei hic ad mortem ductus est, nisi intelligamus de quopiam alio quam de dei populo? Quis autem is est nisi Jesus Christus? *Contra Cels. l. i. p.* 42. It is equally difficult to reconcile the explication of the Bishop as above with these words of other writers. "It was very little to be expected, that any scholar of the present age would revive the obsolete application of *my servant* to the *Jewish people*, which has been so often proved to be unfounded, and which even Grotius has reprobated in his refutation of that opinion first broached by Celsus's Jew."—This he may have done properly if it was meant *solely* of the Jewish people and not also typically and ultimately of Christ, which latter he maintains equally with the Bishop, as his own words thus prove. "Ipsa autem historia Christi nos admonet ita directam a deo mentem prophetæ loquentis, ut quod *de populo Israelitico* ab ipso dicebatur non minus rectè, aut etiam rectius in Christum conveniret." And hence he adds, "that the delivery from captivity in Egypt was as it were a prefigurative sketch of the delivery by Christ, *majoris libertatis per Christum partæ rudimentum quoddam fuit.* (Not. Matth. i. 22.) This is the same with the explication of the Bishop concerning the delivery from captivity at Babylon. Again, "Verba ipsa prophetæ ad ultimum illud complementum obtinent significatum *magis proprium magisque excellentem.*" (Matth. ii. 15.) In the Letters of M. Simon are two being a full vindication of Grotius, and in course of Lowth. *Tom. iii. Letter* 26, 27.

refuse any more, than this late head of the Christian church in his ingenuous and candid statement of the above subject in question.

This revival and defence of the propriety of typical and allegoric prophecies had been begun by Martin in his *Pugio Fidei*, in which he made a vast collection of all the allegoric interpretations of scripture by the ancient Jews, both weeds and flowers, and by the productions of which he meant to oppose the too literal expositions of the same passages by the modern learned Jews in Spain of his own age; and to shew that if there was any defect in such typical explications, as applied by Christians to Christ, yet it was at least a defect, of which the ancient Jews had themselves set the example, who had applied those same passages to their expected Messiah; so that the literal interpretations of those modern Jews were at best innovations reprobated by their ancestors. This was at least a good argument *ad hominem*, as it is expressed; but it was reserved for the later commentators from Grotius down to Lowth Bishop of London to justify this mode of interpretation as being an equally good one *ad omnes homines*; so that what Martin begun, Grotius corrected, and Lowth completed.*

* The real author was so little known before the publication of Pugio Fidei in 1651, that notwithstanding the opportunities for extensive inquiry which Jos. Scaliger possessed, yet he supposed the author to have been Raymundus Sebond. M. Simon confirms that R. Juda Haccadosch never wrote any such book, as Gale-rasela ascribed to him by Galatinus, it being a spurious tract, as well as *several others* (he says) quoted by Galatinus. (Biblioth. Choisee, p. 76.)

There has however been one objection advanced by Collins against allegorical evidence in propecies, as if they must in consequence be uncertain, unsolid and chimerical. (*Liter. Proph. p.* 8.) But to draw such a conclusion is in reality to impose upon the rational faculties of readers: for the truth is, that facts or general truths conveyed to the understandings of men by means of allegories have just as much perspicuity, solidity, and certainty, as by the most direct means of information in words which can be employed. Is not the allegoric message by Tarquin to his son (which was indeed only borrowed from a similar allegory by a celebrated Greek) just as intelligible, and as little uncertain and chimerical, as if he had said *behead the chief citizens?* So at least those citizens found it to be, and had no reason to question the meaning of the allegory. Is not the contempt of Joash for the power of Amaziah just as clearly evident by his allegoric message to him, as if he had said in direct words, *I defy and despise you?* Is not the moral truth recommended by the parable of the good Samaritan equally intelligible, certain and true, as if it had been a real history instead of a supposed one, and had been found in an ancient historian related in the plainest words? All such truths have been always found to be impressed on the mind with as much, if not with more force by means of allegory than by the most formal and direct precepts in words. Such evasions then as these are in contradicion to the universal experience of mankind: and if possible, still more so, whenever information of *distant facts* and truths is conveyed to men allegorically by means of present and *real facts*

and truths, such as the redemption of mankind in general by the return from the actual captivity and slavery of the particular nation of the Jews: for the fact predicted cannot be the less certain because the fact which allegorically prefigures it is a real fact and not a supposed one. The mind of man easily discerns similitudes and contrarities, and it is by means of the similitude that the information is conveyed in allegories, whether the facts which convey it be real or only supposed: but similitude alone is not sufficient to convey information, unless also it be evident, that the speaker intended by such a similitude in some present object to give information concerning some distant one; and in this consists one chief defect in the many allegoric interpretations of scriptural prophecies by the Jews in *Pugio Fidei*, that the speaker had himself no idea of them, and never intended to prefigure any such facts, as those Jews suppose; as for example in the description of the return of spring in the Song of Solomon. But another chief defect is, that even if it were probable that the speaker might intend an allegory, yet it ought not to be admitted as such, in case the similitude arises only by putting a forced sense upon the construction of the words, which is not obviously and naturally contained in them. In such cases as these and in no other can an allegory be deemed *uncertain* in its meaning and *chimerical:* and in fact all language is in a great degree only a continued tissue of metaphors and allegories, the latter being a more continued and consistent course of the former; so that there could be no *certainty* in any thing which is writ or spoken, if metaphors and allegories

destroyed it, and rendered what is said *chimerical.* For these reasons Grotius and the Bishop have rejected all allegorical prophecies, which might thus seem to any persons chimerical, and retained only those, which the prophets evidently intended as such, and which contained obvious prefigurations of future events, and thus have separated the chaff from the corn; on which account they have sometimes been blamed for adopting too much merely *literal* senses. But if any person should wish not to go quite so far, or else to go still further than these authors in adopting allegoric prefigurations of future things, yet this is only going a little more or less toward one of the two extremes, and does not destroy that proposed medium between the two; which admits of such a *latitude*, as no single person can reasonably limit or determine for all other men; and therefore admits them all within the pale of well-intending Christians, notwithstanding such minute differences in their opinions. These different shades of opinion do in fact amount to nothing more than as in the following case, viz. if several persons of a company see some pieces of gold coin upon a table, many may possibly think their colour not so much of the right gold colour as is generally the case, some may be judged to be too pale and others of too deep a hue for gold; and yet after better inspection they may all conclude that they really are good gold, stamped, as they see, by the most unequivocal marks of the supreme authority of the royal name impressed upon them. S.

die nativit. ann. ætat. 80.

Art. DCCCV. *On the Mode of Interpreting the Prophecies.*

TO THE EDITOR OF CENSURA LITERARIA.

Sir,

With very great respect for the learning and talents of your venerable Correspondent *S.* to whom I think all your readers are under much obligation, I must differ from him with regard to some of the positions stated in his letter inserted in your last Number. That there is a medium to be observed between the wholly literal and wholly allegorical or mystical interpretation of the prophecies cannot be denied. But the difficulty still remains to know where to draw the line. Good and eminent men, Jews as well as Christians, ancients as well as moderns, have erred on both sides. In our own days we have seen the virtuous and learned Bishop Horne allegorizing almost the whole of the scriptures; and Rosemuller (as I judge from what *S.* says of him) reducing them again to their literal meaning. Yet surely there is a line to be drawn, safe at least, though neither inclusive nor exclusive of a great part of the Bible, which is from the information of the New Testament. Whatever Rosemuller or any other commentator may say, while I believe in the general inspiration of the apostles I must also believe that those prophecies which they expressly quote, and to the completion of which in their own sight they bear witness, were in the proper sense prophecies and to be fulfilled at a future time, however literally they might appear to be accomplished

in their first and most obvious sense: and references of this kind in the New Testament are too numerous and well known to make it necessary to quote them. That these were also the sentiments of Bishop Lowth, who in the opinion of *S.* maintains the literal in opposition to the mystic sense of prophecy, appears from his own words, in a part of the very note which he quoted in your last; "yet obvious and plain," says the Bishop, "as I think this literal sense is, we have nevertheless the *irrefragable* authority of John the Baptist, and of our blessed Saviour himself, as recorded by all the evangelists, for explaining this exordium (of the xlth ch. of Isaiah) of the prophecy of the opening of the gospel by the preaching of John, and of the introducing of the kingdom of Messiah."—"And this we shall find to be the case in many subsequent parts also of this prophecy, where passages manifestly relating to the deliverance of the Jewish nation, effected by Cyrus, are with good reason and upon undoubted authority to be understood of the redemption wrought for mankind by Christ."

"If the literal sense of the prophecy cannot be questioned, much less surely can the spiritual; which I think is allowed on all hands, even by Grotius himself."*

I cannot therefore see how Lowth "completed what Martin begun and Grotius corrected." For in reality Lowth was not a commentator but a translator. It was to the structure and imagery of the

* *Even by Grotius*; it may then be observed here, obiter, that the Bishop evidently means to infer that Grotius attached himself too strictly to the *literal* interpretation of prophecy.

language to which he particularly applied his attention, both in his Isaiah, and in his "*Prælectiones de sacra Poesi.*"* In neither of them does he enlarge on the scope and design of the prophecy explained, though he sometimes refers to it in a short and cursory manner. But let him speak for himself. "Whatever senses are supposed to be included in the prophet's words, spiritual, mystical, allegorical, analogical, or the like, they must all depend upon the *literal* sense."† And again, "The‡ design of the notes is to give the reasons and authorities on which the translation is founded; to rectify or to explain the words of the text; to illustrate the ideas, the images, and the allusions of the prophet, by referring to objects, notions and customs, which peculiarly belong to his age and his country; and to point out the beauties of particular passages. I sometimes indeed endeavour to open the design of the prophecy, to shew the connection between its parts, and to point out the event which it foretels. But in general I must entreat the reader to be satisfied with my endeavours faithfully to express the literal sense, which is all that I undertake. If he would go deeper into the mystical sense, into theological, historical, and chronological disquisitions, there are many learned expositors to whom he may have recourse, who have written full commentaries on this prophet; to which title the present work has no pretensions." The *literal* sense therefore in

* It is not meant that no other subjects are embraced in this elegant work, but that the explanation of the prophecies makes no part of it.

† Preliminary Dissertation, p. lii. ‡ Ib. p. lxxiii.

which the Bishop is supposed to follow or agree with Grotius, is in reality only the *literal* manner in which he has thought proper to translate his original. It refers merely to the version, not to the explanation of the prophecy. With respect to the 40th chapter, Lowth certainly supposes that the prophecy has a double meaning, the one nearer and the other more remote; but I am at a loss to discover where *S.* has found (as he asserts p. 298) that Lowth differs from Origen concerning the meaning of the 53d chapter. I can find nothing like it either in his notes or in his Prælections. In the latter (Prælect. xix.) he uses this strong expression about it, "illustre illud Vaticinium de Messiæ humilitate & pœnis piacularibus." In the former he introduces this prophecy by saying, "here Babylon is at once dropped.—The prophet's views are almost wholly engrossed by the superior part of his subject. He introduces the Messiah as appearing at first in the lowest state of humiliation; and obviates the offence which would be occasioned by it, by declaring the important and necessary cause of it, and foreshewing the glory which should follow it." The only place in which the Bishop mentions Origen is to introduce a note by Dr. Kennicot on the eighth verse, to prove a various reading of the Hebrew from the lxx; nor does he in any of his notes even hint at any application of this prophecy to any other person primarily or remotely, but to Christ alone.

P. M

ART. DCCCVI. *On Arrowsmith's Map; the Highland Roads; and the Caledonian Canal.*

A sense of public duty demands the insertion of the following important communication. No one will suspect the Editor of having local or personal prejudices on this subject to gratify.

TO THE EDITOR OF CENSURA LITERARIA.

SIR,

HAVING lately seen your Miscellany, I read in it two communications from FACT AGAINST PUFF. These contain some severe truths, from the effects of which the Commissioners for Highland Roads and Bridges cannot escape; nor the Scotch nation claim exemption. I trouble you with this letter in order to explain to FACT the probable reason why Arrowsmith's Memoir has not been published; and to communicate some important information to the Commissioners, on a subject of which they appear to be as ignorant, as of the mode employed for constructing the great Map from Roy's justly celebrated Survey.

It is very well known, that in the Memoir there was a description of a new discovery by Mr. Arrowsmith, which was neither more nor less than that of a method of finding the variation of the magnetic needle. It is very probable that the Memoir was to be made subservient to the annunciation of the discovery; for on its being submitted to the revisal of scientific men about two years ago or more, they pronounced Mr. Arrowsmith's lucubrations to be

little if at all better than nonsense. I do not know that Mr. Arrowsmith is yet convinced that his discovery is good for nothing; but it is likely that he is; and that the Memoir has become so crippled by so severe an amputation as to be unfit to appear. Indeed it could contain no other information than that Professor Playfair, Mr. Nimmo of Inverness, and a few private individuals had compared the map with such parts of the country as they best knew. Mr. Playfair has often travelled through the Highlands and other parts of Scotland not frequented by ordinary tourists; and as he is undoubtedly one of the few profound mathematicians which inhabit Great Britain, his authority is of the highest order. Mr. Nimmo is a young man of very considerable talents and learning; and he has rendered a most important service in delineating the boundaries of the northern counties. While executing the task assigned to him, he experienced many of those privations and annoyances so glowingly described by your Correspondent in his second communication. In every instance when it was not possible for Arrowsmith to procure authority for deviating from the original survey, we find the map perfectly correct. But he has neglected many alterations which were necessary on account of the removal of villages, and the changes in the names of places, which have taken place since the survey was made. The Commissioners have certainly trusted too much to Arrowsmith, who ought to have been contented with the profits of publishing a copy of Roy's survey, without permitting his ambition to dare to correct it.

In one of the reports of the progress of the Caledonian Canal the Commissioners gravely state that a steam engine, which was not immediately wanted, had been sunk for *preservation* in one of the lakes If this statement be true, it betrays a most unpardonable degree of ignorance. The meanest labourer on the canal knows that any thing made of iron, especially an apparatus, the goodness of which depends on the smoothness of its surface, will be destroyed by such treatment. How this has escaped censure in the House of Commons it is not easy to discover. But the statement is *false*, and the Commissioners have allowed themselves to be grossly deceived by their tutor Mr. Telford. The engine in question was put upon a raft, in order to render its conveyance easy. The raft *gave way;* and the *engine was lost.* Whether the canal was originally intended as a tub to amuse the Highland whale, or as a big gew-gaw to divert some great treasury babies I do not know. But the whale is tired of it; and John Bull had better take care of those he trusts with such expensive playthings as steam-engines.

ANOTHER FACT AGAINST PUFF.

ART. DCCCVII. *Reply to S.'s Defence of Grotius.*

TO THE EDITOR OF CENSURA LITERARIA.

SIR,

THE kind but flattering *note*, appended to the learned and ingenious vindication of Grotius, by your correspondent *S.* obliges me to say a few words,

contrary to my original intention, explanatory of my first letter on that subject. It was very far from my wish to be drawn into a controversy concerning the merits of Grotius, for which I have neither time nor inclination; and my only reason for writing any thing concerning him, was to obtain some account of the story of Nehumias. Being satisfied in that by the obliging attention of your friend *S.* I should have left your readers to draw their own conclusions from our different ideas of Grotius's theological writings, had you not, by your *note*, seemed to think it incumbent on me to explain some part of my meaning, which *S.* has perhaps mistaken.

On referring to my letter, p. 92, I believe it will be found that I accused Grotius, first, of paying too much attention to Jewish and Talmudic writings; and, secondly, of contradicting himself; of which I produced what appeared to me to be an instance. Concerning the first of these, I spoke from the general impression upon my mind, occasioned by a not inattentive perusal of his observations upon those prophecies principally which are commonly referred to the Messiah. And I think this impression justified, not only by his frequent quotations of the opinions, both of the ancient and modern Jews, and what seems, to me, his general disinclination to apply to the Messiah several prophecies which are usually so applied by Christian writers; but also, because in his own preface, he avows that he was chiefly guided by the Jewish interpretations in his Commentary on the Law;* in which division of the

* As I have not at present that preface by me, I mention thi particular from memory.

Old Testament several of the most remarkable prophecies of the Messiah are included.

But this as your correspondent *S.* justly observes, is merely an opinion; and those who study Grotius, will of course judge for themselves, and form their own conclusions. Of the second accusation I produced an example; but concerning this, let it be observed, that I did *not* say that Grotius took his explication of the 52d and 63d chapters of Isaiah from the Talmud. I know that several passages of the Talmud apply parts of those chapters to the Messiah, though the more modern, and some of the ancient Jews did not. The expression with which I introduced it, was "Misled in this manner;" i. e. by this too great attention to the opinions of the Jews after Christ; and it seems remarkable, that in his observations on this prophecy, in his book "De Veritate, &c." he never mentions the name of Jeremiah at all, nor seems to think it worth his while to contradict the application of it to him. Whether, when a writer says of the very same passage, "Hæ notæ in Jeremiam congruunt prius sed potius in Christum;" and "Quis potest nominari aut regum aut *prophetarum* in quem hæc congruunt? nemo sane," he contradicts himself or not, I leave to your readers to determine.*

* Since I made the observation upon this passage, I have found it strongly confirmed by the respectable opinion of Whitby, in his note on Acts viii. 31. "And though Grotius, in his notes upon this chapter, *endeavours* to interpret the words concerning the prophet Jeremy, yet in his excellent book of the Truth of the Christian Religion, having cited this whole chapter (Isaiah liii.) he inquires,

With respect to the rest of your correspondent's able defence of Grotius, I have only to observe, that it is nothing to my argument, whether Le Clerc, and other Christian writers, have agreed with him or not. For I have said nothing concerning them, nor mentioned Le Clerc's name, but as a translator of Grotius. If I had, it would not have been in a very favourable manner; nor can I think him a sincere friend to the Christian religion, who wrote with so much violence against Leslie, one of the most close and powerful reasoners that has ever exercised his pen in the cause of that religion.

I cannot find by my own observation, nor have I heard before, that the criticism of Grotius was chiefly applied to the *literal* sense of the Bible, as S. affirms. Neither in his own, nor in the more elaborate preface of Moody, is there, I believe, any intimation of that kind. In his own, if I remember right, he says, that in his Commentary on the Prophets, he has principally endeavoured to reconcile the historical with the mystic, or prophetic sense. He professes, therefore, to attend to them both; for which reason it has always seemed very strange to me, that he should take so little, or sometimes even no notice, of passages in his Commentary, upon which he lays a considerable stress in his treatise De Veritate Relig. Christ.

That the story of Nehumias rests upon no sufficient foundation is very evident; but I never said that Grotius took it either from the Talmud, or from

Quis potest nominari, &c." The word *endeavours* clearly shows Whitby's idea of the commentator's bias.

the Jews. Jenkin said he found it in the Talmud; and Le Clerc thought he remembered that he said he had received it from a Jew. But it is obvious that it could not be a Jewish fable, because it would be so strong a proof against them; and in that light Grotius certainly considered it, and therefore introduced it, though very injudiciously, into his work, in confirmation of a truth which stands in need of no such assistance.

And here, Sir, I must enter my protest against Rosemuller's doctrine, as quoted by *S*, that the New Testament is of no authority in determining the sense of passages in the prophets supposed to relate to the Messiah. It is well known, that not every accommodation, or coincidence of local circumstances or expression, which is merely introduced by *that it might be fulfilled*, shews that the passage so applied was really a prophecy; but when a prophecy is expressly cited, and the attention of the people called to the present accomplishment of it, it cannot be supposed but that the prophecy was really completed by such event. In the instance which Rosemuller brings, of Matt. xii. 18, &c. there seems to be a strange mistake; for the passage there quoted, "locus noster," does not relate to the chapters of Isaiah there spoken of, the 52d and 53d, but to the 42d. But that prophecy is quoted by St. John, ch. xii. 38, and applied in a manner so remarkable, as to leave no room to suppose it to be a mere accommodation: *These things said Esaias, when he saw his glory, and spake of him.* It is also applied directly by Philip, Acts viii. 35, when the Ethiopian eunuch was reading the prophecy without understanding it,

"He opened his mouth, and began *at the same Scripture*, and preached unto him Jesus." Can there then be a doubt, that both John and Philip understood that prophecy to relate to Jesus?

I am very glad to find that *S.* intimates his opinion to be different from Rosemuller's concerning that wonderful prophecy, which I consider as one of the bulwarks of Christianity; and wholly inapplicable to any other person, or persons, than Jesus. It was indeed very little to be expected that any scholar of the present age would revive the obsolete application of it to the Jewish people, which has been so often proved to be unfounded, by men, at least, as eminent as Rosemuller. But this is not the place to enter upon such a controversy; and in taking my leave of Grotius, I would willingly make him an *amende honorable*, by quoting his refutation of this opinion first broached by Celsus's Jew; but that the passage is too long, and the work itself to be found in every library.*

P. M.

P. S. Since I wrote the above, upon looking into Dr. Gregory Sharpe's "Second Argument," I find these words, in speaking of the prophecy of Micah, used by that able and eminent author: "If Grotius had not wrested every word of this oracle from its obvious meaning, that, *blinded with Jewish*

* See Grot. de Verit. &c. Lib. v. sect. xix. See also upon this interesting subject, Chandler's very able, learned, and masterly "Defence of Christianity;" "Leslie's Truth of Christianity demonstrated;" "Lowths Isaiah;" Dr. Gregory Sharpe's "Second Argument;" and "Granville Sharp on the Prophecies."

prejudices, he might apply it in a primary sense to Zerubbabel," p. 188. Again, in the next page, after quoting Grotius, he adds, "Here one would be almost tempted to think that the Jew had snatched up the pen, and inserted the word *recte*." And again, in another place, p. 190, "Strange interpretation of an oracle, so hard to be wrested from the Christians, by a Christian; though in his interpretation of ancient oracles, applied to Christ, *recte dicatur*, a Jewish interpreter." To this Dr. Sharp adds, in p. 361, Houbigant's opinion of his Commentary: "Pere Houbigant, who has reason to be displeased with Grotius for interpreting so many prophecies concerning the Messiah, as if in a primary sense they related to other persons, here entirely agrees with him," &c. These passages need no comment.

P. M.

Aug. 12, 1808.

ART. DCCCVIII. *Original Poems by the late Henry Kirke White.*

MR. SOUTHEY's intention to publish the Life and Poetical Remains of the late Mr. Henry Kirke White, has already been announced. I am not a little proud to record my gratitude to that great poet for the communication of the following most exquisite specimens, which I am sure every reader of sensibility or fancy will read with as much delight as I have done. They have never before been printed, and are a treasure, which, while they adorn my pages, will necessarily raise the expectations of the public very high for the appearance of the work,

in which Mr. Southey has so amiably engaged. What must be the charm of a life of such a writer written by another of such endowments as Mr. Southey? But I will not by my pen detain the reader any longer from these most beautiful relics.

Denton, May 24, 1807.

Poetical Relics of Henry Kirke White.

SONNET.

" Yes, 'twill be over soon. This sickly dream
Of life will vanish from my feverish brain,
And death my wearied spirit will redeem
From this wild region of continual pain.
Yon brook will glide as softly as before,
Yon landscape smile, yon golden harvest grow,
Yon sprightly lark on mounting wing will soar
When Henry's name is heard no more below.
I sigh when all my youthful friends caress;
They laugh in health and future evils brave;
Them shall a wife and smiling children bless,
While I am mouldering in my silent grave.
God of the just! thou gav'st the bitter cup!
I bow to thy behest and drink it up."

SONNET.

" Gently, most gently, on thy victim's head,
Consumption, lay thine hand! Let me decay,
Like the expiring lamp, unseen, away,
And softly go to slumber with the dead.
And if 'tis true what holy men have said,
That strains angelic oft foretel the day
Of death, to those good men who fall thy prey,
O let the aërial music, round my bed,

Dissolving slow in dying symphony,
Whisper the solemn warning to mine ear;
That I may bid my weeping friends good-bye,
Ere I depart upon my journey dreaf;
And, smiling faintly on the painful past,
'Compose my decent head, and breathe my last.'

SOLITUDE.

"It is not that my lot is low,
That bids the silent tear to flow:
It is not grief that bids me moan;
It is that I am all alone.

In woods and glens I love to roam,
When the tir'd hedger hies him home;
Or by the woodland pool to rest,
When pale the star looks in its breast.

Yet when the silent evening sighs
With hallowed airs and symphonies,
My spirit takes another tone,
And sighs that it is all alone.

The autumn leaf is sear and dead;
It floats upon the water's bed:
I would not be a leaf, to die
Without recording sorrow's sigh!

The woods and winds with sullen wail
Tell all the same unvaried tale:
I've none to smile when I am free,
And when I sigh to sigh with me.

Yet in my dreams a form I view,
That thinks of me and loves me too;—
I start,—and when the vision's flown
I weep that I am all alone."

Art. DCCCIX. *The Contented Knight, or the Carp too Cunning. A Ballad from a MS.*

" *To the tune of St. George and the Dragon.*

" Within the wood a virgin ash
Had twenty summers seen:
The elves and faries mark'd it oft,
As they tript along the green;
But the woodman cut it with his axe,
He cruelly fell'd it down,
A rod to make for the Knight of the lake,
A Knight of no renown;
Turn it taper and round, Turner,
Turn it taper and round,
For my line is of the grey palfrey's tail,
And it is slender and sound.
St. George he was for England,
St. Denis he was for France,
St. Patrick taught the Irishman
To tune the merry harp;
At the bottom of the slimy pool
There lurks a crafty Carp,
Were he at the bottom of my line,
How merrily he would dance.

In the Pacific Ocean
There dwelt a mighty Whale,
And o'er the waves from London town
There went a noble sail;
With hooks and crooks and ropes and boats
'Twas furnish'd in and out,
Boat-steerers, and line-managers,
Harpooners bold and stout:

The dart flew true, and the monster slew,
The seaman bless'd the day;
All from his fin a bone so thin
At the top of my rod does play.
St. George. &c.

Moulded and mix'd is the magic mass,
The sun is below the hill,
O'er the dark water flits the bat,
Hoarse sounds the murmuring rill,
Slowly bends the willow's bough
To the beetle's sullen tune,
And grim and red is the angry head
Of the archer in the moon.
Softly, softly, spread the spell,
Softly spread it around,
But name not the magic mixture
To mortal, that breathes on ground.
St. George, &c.

The Squire has tapp'd at the bower window,
"The day is one hour old;
Thine armour assume, the work of the loom,
To defend thee from the cold."
The Knight arose, and donn'd his clothes,
For one hour old was the day,
His armour he took, his rod, and his hook,
And his line of the palfrey gray.
He has brush'd the dew from off the lawn,
He has taken the depth by the rule,
"Here is gentle to eat, come partake of the treat,
Sly tenant of the pool."
St. George, &c.

The Carp peep'd out from his reedy bed,
And forth he slyly crept,

But he lik'd not the look, for he saw the black hook,
So he turn'd his tail and slept.
There is a flower grows in the field,
Some call it Marygold a,
And that, which one fish would not take,
Another surely would a.
And the Knight had read in the books of the dead,
So the Knight did not repine;
For they, that cannot get carp, Sir,
Upon tench may very well dine.
St. George, &c.

He has brush'd the dew from the lawn again,
He has taken the depth by the rule,
" Here is boil'd bean and pea, come breakfast with me,
Sly tenant of the pool."
The carp peep'd forth from his reedy bed,
The Carp peep'd forth in time;
But he lik'd not the smell, so he cried go to Hell,
And he stuck his nose in the slime.
But the Knight had read in the books of the dead,
And the Knight did not repine;
For they that cannot get carp, Sir,
Upon tench may very well dine.
St. George, &c.

Then up rose the Lord of Penbury's board,
Well skill'd in the musical lore,
And he swore by himself, tho' cunning the elf,
He wou'd charm him, and draw him ashore.
The middle of day he chose for the play,
And he fiddled as in went the line;
But the Carp kept his head in his reedy bed;
He chose not to dance or to dine.
" I prithee come dance me a reel, Carp,
I prithee come dance me a reel;"

I thank ye, my Lord, I've no taste for your board,
You'd much better play to the eel."

St. George, &c.

FINIS.

Art. DCCCX. *Stanzas to a Flower.*

I see thee, at the trembling dawn,
Inhale the spirit of the morn;
When shadows fall, I still am near,
And mark thee bath'd in evening's tear
Most feelingly:

Because, lov'd flower, to thee is lent
A sweet, a hidden sentiment,
That can a mournful bliss impart,
Can vibrate through my aching heart
Most tenderly.

When pensive memory turns to me,
When thoughts are thoughts of agony,
Near thee I sorrowing vigils keep,
And teach my languid eye to weep
Most fervently.

Yet thou canst lift a fragile form
Unmindful of the passing storm,
Canst bid the tender blossom live,
And to the winds its fragrance give
Most fearlessly.

That thought had fill'd my musing mind,
That thought my sorrow had refin'd,

When soft a mourning spirit gave,
"He too shall bloom beyond the grave,
Most gloriously!"

Hence does a quiet hope await
To soothe the anguish of my fate,
And with a pensive rapture bless,
And with a faith, a tenderness
Most heavenly!

Bury St. Edmunds. ****.

ART. DCCCXI. *Extraordinary instance of Prediction, copied from a paper found among the MSS. of a celebrated literary person, lately deceased.*

Extract of a Letter, dated Oct. 21, 1763, relating to the story of the School-boys at Winchester.

"IF a boy at Winchester school was now to foretel the deaths of three persons belonging to that society, by name, in the compass of half a year; and the order in which they should die, and the very day and hour of the death of one of them; you, and *I*, no doubt, should look upon him as a very great fool and impostor. But if this prophecy of his should be verified by the event, in every particular, exactly as he foretold it, should not we change our opinions? And think, that the story he had told, however ridiculous, was true?

"This, I think, is the case of NEEDS's story; and if so, the only doubt must be, 'whether he really foretold it, so fully and exactly, as is supposed above?'"

That he did, will appear from a short paper, (the original of which subsists) written and signed by Dr. Fletcher, then the under master of Winchester school, who was present at the examination of some of his school-fellows, about this affair, and who attended Needs himself in his last hours.

From an attested copy of Dr. Fletcher's paper.

"Forder says, that within a fortnight after the return of our scholars, *i. e.* about the beginning of June, as he was speaking of the Bishop of Winchester to Needs, Needs repeated to Forder, 'that the Bishop and Mr. Carman, a chaplain of the college, would die before Christmas.' Some time after, when Mr. Carman fell sick, Needs repeated to Forder, 'that the Bishop and Mr. Carman should die before Christmas, and that he himself should die before that time.' He says farther, that it was usual for his school-fellows, to jest at him for this prediction. He says also, that on Friday, the 23d of August, Needs told Burton, sen. (who has since left school) upon his saying, 'Needs, thou art a prophet, and foretellest the Bishop's death, and Mr. Carman's, prithee, tell me, when thou thyself shalt die?' that he should die the Thursday fortnight following; 'which,' said he, (counting the days upon his fingers) 'will be the 12th of September.'

"Coker sen. says 'that before Whitsuntide last, he heard Needs say, that the Bishop of Winchester, Mr. Carman, and himself, should die before Christmas.' He said also, 'that Mr. Carman should die

first; himself next; and the old man should survive them both; but should die a considerable time before Christmas.'

"Rymes says, that three weeks before Needs died, he said to him, 'tis in vain to send for a doctor, for I shall die the 12th of September.'

"In the morning, he said to me, 'Is this Thursday morning, and I to die to-day, and no better prepared?"

"Edmunds says, 'that more than a fortnight before Needs died, he told him, that in a dream an angel appeared to him, and told him that he should die on Thursday, the 12th of September, about three o'clock in the afternoon."

J. FLETCHER.

"My copy is attested by Philip, a son of the doctor, who adds, that his father was by Needs when he died, and that he died just as Trinity clock struck three.

"*Mem.* The then Bishop of Winchester died in five or six weeks after Needs, (I think on the first of Nov.) and was succeeded by Sir Jonathan Trelawney. Dr. Conybeare, late Bishop of Oxford, has told me, that the famous Dr. Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, (no over-credulous man) having had a full account of this prediction from persons of credit, and of its having been fulfilled so particularly as to Carman's and Needs's parts in it, sent a full account of the whole to his great friend Sir Jonathan, who he knew had views towards Winchester, to incite him to strengthen his interests that way, as much

and as fast as he possibly could. Sir Jonathan did so, and got the bishopric by it."

ART. DCCCXII. *Conjecture concerning the Hero of the Nutbrown Maid. With some Anecdotes of the Cliffords.*

DR. WHITAKER, in his excellent *History of the Deanery of Craven in Yorkshire*,* has, in his account of Skipton Castle, one of the residences of the illustrious house of Clifford, conjectured with great probability that *Henry Lord Clifford*, the first Earl of Cumberland, was the hero of the beautiful Ballad of the Nutbrown Maid, a poem, which the more I read it, the more I admire.

Dr. Whitaker observes, that this young nobleman was, during his father's life, led by the extravagances of the court into pecuniary embarrassments. "The method," he adds, "which this high-spirited young man took to supply his necessities is cha-

* London, 1805, 4to. This is the most delightful of all the works on English topography, which I have met with. It is the production of a mind abounding with an enlightened and sublime morality, and a rich and picturesque imagination; of a master of language, who has the skill not only to digest and arrange his materials, but to draw notes from them, such as are exactly suited to persons fond of these pursuits; yet such as, rising dimly and indistinctly in their own heads, they want the ability to grasp and communicate. Dr. Whitaker possesses the power to embody these subtle ideas,

> "Turn them to shape, and give to airy nothing
> A local habitation, and a name."

racteristic of the times: instead of resorting to Jews and money-lenders, computing the value of his father's life, and raising great sums by anticipation, methods which are better suited to the calm unenterprizing dissipation of the present age, Henry Clifford turned *outlaw*, assembled a band of dissolute followers, harrassed the religious houses, beat their tenants, and forced the inhabitants of whole villages to take sanctuary in their churches."

The historian then gives in a note the suggestion, which is the object of the present article.

"I hope," says he, "it will be thought no extravagant conjecture, that Henry Clifford was the hero of the *Nutbrown Maid.* That beautiful poem was first printed about 1521, and from the use of the word *spleen*, which was introduced into the English language by the study of the Greek physicians, it could not have been written long before. Little perhaps can be inferred from the general qualification of an outlaw's skill in archery; '*Such an archere as men say that ye be;*' compared with the circumstance of the Earl of Cumberland's providing himself with all the apparatus of the bow in the following account: but when '*The Man*' specifically describes *Westmarland* as his *heritage*, we must either suppose the whole story to be a fiction, or refer it to one of the wild adventures of Henry Clifford, who really led the life of an outlaw within ten years of the time. The *great lynage* of the lady may well agree with Lady Percy;* and what is

* He married Lady Margaret Percy, daughter of Henry fifth Earl of Northumberland.

more probable than that this wild young man, among his other feats, may have lurked in the forests of the Percy family, and won the lady's heart under a disguise, which he had taken care to assure her concealed a Knight? That the rank of the parties is inverted in the Ballad may be considered as nothing more than a decent veil of poetical fiction thrown over a recent and well-known fact. The Barony of Westmoreland was the inheritance of Henry Clifford alone."

Having thus touched upon a most romantic incident of this great family, I cannot refrain from adding to my article some more particulars regarding them. Their vast domains, and all the wild splendour of the feudal habits which they exhibited, fill the imagination with the sentiments and the figures of a rich romance. I see them still pursuing their manly sports over the picturesque and magnificent solitudes of Craven; I see them afterwards presiding with courteous state at the hall of hospitality; unweakened by effeminate luxuries, and unsophisticated by the rivalry or artifices of commerce and manufactures! It would be deceitful to deny, that some private and personal considerations mix themselves with the interest I take in these images. Among the mingled blood that flows in my veins, no fear of ridicule shall deter me from owning my pride that I am immediately derived from this high and heroic house through a lofty and

undegraded channel.* Injustice may withhold from me titles and rank; they are baubles, which are often bestowed on the most low-born, and base-minded of the people; it cannot annihilate, or alter the blood which is the gift of Nature! It must be my own fault if that shall be debased. If treachery, extortion, and oppression; if foul and incessant calumny and misrepresentation; if the pestilent poison of vipers nourished in the bosom of a family, be trials to a resolute spirit, I have known them all; and my spirit is yet unbroken! But my enemies shall have the triumph of knowing, that these conflicts too often have irritated my nerves, and suspended my intellectual industry! The waves and weathers of time have shaken to its very foundation the solitary remaining branch of an ancient and once flourishing stock. The very blows and bruises it has received have served only as provocations to new insults; and circumstances, which in other cases have operated as pleas for favour and support, have been used in this as reasons for additional wrongs!

From the summary of the Lives of the Cliffords, &c. a MS. folio, drawn up under the direction of their heiress, the celebrated Countess of Dorset and Pembroke, I shall here borrow some extracts.

"John Lord Clifford, born April 8, 1435, was

* Stanley and Egerton.

the person to whose hand is ascribed the death of the Earl of Rutland, K. Edw. IV.'s brother;" but the memorialist contends, that this Earl was seventeen instead of twelve years old, and was probably killed in the battle as a soldier. His death happened Dec. 31, 1460; and Lord Clifford himself was slain about the 29th of March following at Towton.

"His son, Henry Lord Clifford, born 1454, was between six and seven years of age at his father's death; for whose act the family was soon afterwards attainted. He was one of the examples of the variety of fortunes in the world; for at seven years old he was put into the habit of a shepherd's boy by the care and love of an industrious mother to conceal his birth and parentage; for had he been known to have been his father's son and heir, in all probability he would either have been put in prison, or banished, or put to death; so odious was the memory of his father for killing the young Earl of Rutland, and for being so desperate a commander in battle against the House of York which then reigned.

"So in the condition of a shepherd's boy at Lannesborough, where his mother then lived for the most part, did this Lord Clifford spend his youth till he was about fourteen years of age, about which time his mother's father, Henry Bromflet, Lord Vesey, died.

"And a little after his death it came to be murmured at court, that his daughter's two sons were alive, about which their mother was examined; but her answers were, that she had given directions to send them both beyond seas, to be bred there, and

she did not know whether they were dead or alive, which equivocation of her's did the better pass, because presently after her husband's death, she sent both her sons away to the sea-side; the younger of which, called Richard Clifford, was indeed transported over the seas into the Low Countries, to be bred there, where he died not long after; so as his elder brother Henry, Lord Clifford, had after his restitution the enjoyment of that little estate, that this Richard, his younger brother, should have had, if he had lived.

"But her eldest son, Henry Lord Clifford, was secretly conveyed back to Lannesborough again, and committed to the hands of shepherds, as aforesaid, which shepherds' wives had formerly been servants in that family, as attending the nurse who gave him suck, which made him, being a child, more willing to submit to that mean condition, where they infused into him that belief, that he must either be content to live in that manner, or be utterly undone.

"And as he did grow to more years, he was still more capable of this danger, if he had been discovered; and, therefore, presently after his grandfather, the Lord Vesey, was dead, the said murmur of his being alive being more and more whispered at the court, made his said loving mother by means of her second husband Sir Lancelot Thirkeld, to send him away with the said shepherds and their wives to Cumberland, to be kept as a shepherd there, sometimes at Thrilcot, and amongst his father-in law's kindred; and sometimes on the borders of Scotland, where they took land purposely for these shepherds who had the custody of him, where many times his fa-

ther-in-law came purposely to visit him, and sometimes his mother, though very secretly.

"By this mean kind of breeding, this inconvenience befel him, that he could neither write nor read; for they durst not bring him up in any kind of learning, for fear, lest by it his birth should be discovered; yet after he came to his lands and honours, he learned to write his name only.

"And after this Henry, Lord Clifford, had lived twenty-four or twenty-five years in this obscure manner, and that himself was grown to be about thirty one or thirty-two years of age, Henry VIIth then obtaining his crown, did in the first part of his reign, in 1486, restore him in blood and honour, and to all his baronies and castles.

"This Henry Lord Clifford, did, after he came to his estate exceedingly delight in astronomy, and the contemplation of the stars, which it is likely he was seasoned in, during the time of his shepherd's life. He built a great part of Barden* tower, which is now much decayed; and there he lived much, which it is thought he did rather, because in that place he furnished himself with materials and instruments for that study.

"He was a plain man, and lived, for the most part, a country life, and came seldom either to the

* "He retired," says Whitaker, "to the solitude of Barden, where he seems to have enlarged the tower out of a common keeper's lodge, and where he found a retreat equally favourable to taste, to instruction, and to devotion. The narrow limits of his residence shew that he had learned to despise the pomp of greatness, and that a small train of servants could suffice him, who had lived to the age of thirty a servant himself."

court or to London, but when he was called thither to sit in them, as a peer of the realm, in which parliament it is reported he behaved himself wisely and nobly like a good Englishman.

"He died when he was sixty-nine or seventy years old, 23d April, 1523." *

In the lately published poems of Wordsworth is a song on the restoration of this Lord Clifford, put into the mouth of an ancient Minstrel of the family. The poem open thus: †

"High in the breathless hall the Minstrel sate,
And Emont's murmur mingled with the song.
The words of ancient time I thus translate,
A festal strain that hath been silent long.

From town to town, from tower to tower,
The red rose is a gladsome flower.
Her thirty years of winter past,
The red rose is reviv'd at last;
She lifts her head for endless Spring,
For everlasting blossoming!"

The Minstrel, after alluding to the perils which drove the youth of the hero into concealment, proceeds thus:

"Alas! when evil men are strong,
No life is good, no pleasure long.
The boy must part from Mosedale's groves,
And leave Blencathara's rugged coves,

* Harl. MSS. 6177. This Lord Clifford married Anne daughter of Sir John St. John of Bletsoe.

† Quoted from the Edinburgh Review, the original not having reached the Editor.

And quit the flowers that Summer brings
To Glenderamakin's lofty springs;
Must vanish, and his careless cheer
Be turn'd to heaviness and fear.
—Give Sir Lancelot Threlkeld praise!
Hear it, good man, old in days!
Thou tree of covert and of rest
For this young bird that is distrest,
Among thy branches safe he lay,
And he was free to sport and play,
When falcons were abroad for prey."

The poem closes in this manner.

"Now another day is come,
Fitter hope, and nobler doom:
He hath thrown aside his crook,
And hath buried deep his book;
Armour rusting in his halls
On the blood of Clifford calls;—
'Quell the Scot,' exclaims the lance,
'Bear me to the heart of France,'
Is the longing of the shield—
Tell thy name, thou trembling field;
Field of death, where'er thou be,
Groan thou with our victory!
Happy day and mighty hour,
When our shepherd in his power,
Mail'd and hors'd, with lance and sword,
To his ancestors restor'd,
Like a re-appearing star,
Like a glory from afar,
First shall head the flock of war!"

"Alas! the fervent harper did not know
That for a tranquil soul the lay was framed,

Who, long compell'd in humble walks to go,
Was soften'd into feeling, sooth'd, and tamed.

In him the savage virtue of the race,
Revenge, and all ferocious thoughts were dead:
Nor did he change; but kept in lofty place
The wisdom which adversity had bred.

Glad were the vales, and every cottage hearth;
The shepherd Lord was honour'd more and more:
And ages after he was laid in earth,
'The good Lord Clifford' was the name he bore."

After having thus cited from the poems of another on the subject of Lord Clifford, it may appear presumptuous to add any thing of my own. I hope I shall not be considered as attempting any rivalry by the insertion of the three following sonnets, which have occurred to me, in the progress of this article.

SONNET I.

I wish I could have heard thy long-tried lore,
Thou virtuous Lord of Skipton! Thou could'st well
From sage Experience, that best teacher, tell,
How far within the Shepherd's humble door
Lives the sure happiness, that on the floor
Of gay Baronial Halls disdains to dwell,
Tho' deck'd with many a feast, and many a spell
Of gorgeous rhyme, and echoing with the roar
Of Pleasure clamorous round the full-crown'd bowl!
Thou had'st, (and who had doubted thee?) exprest,
What empty baubles are the ermin'd stole,
Proud coronet, rich walls with tapestry drest,

And music lulling the sick frame to rest!
—Bliss only haunts the pure contented soul!

SONNET II.

Month after month, and year succeeding year,
When still the budding Spring, and yet again
The eddying leaf upon the dingy plain
Saw thee still happy in thy humble sphere,
But still as each return of foliage sere,
And still as on the warm banks of the lane,
Shelter'd with covering wood, the primrose train
Began to ope their yellow buds, a tear
Would start unbidden from thy placid cheek,
And a deep pang would swell thy honest heart,
At hopes so long deferr'd;—yet could'st thou speak,
Would'st thou not thus the precious truth impart?
"Dearer those scenes, tho' mix'd with many a sigh,
Than all the joys that Grandeur can supply!"

SONNET III.

Stretch'd on some mountain's side, commanding wood,
Vale, mead, and spreading lake, with distant hills
High tow'ring from its feet, thy bosom fills
Its large desires with a sublimer food:
Thine eye is upward bent on every cloud,
And ever as thy shaping fancy wills,
Thy raptur'd sight with air-drawn visions thrills,
And thy soul flies on heavenly forms to brood.
Ah! how are then forgot the groveling joys
Of earth's ambition vile, the din of war,
The tinsel pomp that human cares employs,
The trumpet thro' each tower resounding far!
Hopes, terrors, virtues, crimes, and flattering state,
All fade before the shepherd's simple fate!

This Peer's son, Henry 1st Earl of Cumberland, "was bred up, for the most part, in his childhood and youth with Henry VIII. Living so much about the court drew him so much to love London, and the southern parts, as that there he became a great waster of his estate, which caused him after to sell much fair lands and possessions, and more than his ancestors had consumed in many years before.

"It also, as is thought, made him more stout and less submitting to his old father, Henry, Lord Clifford, than otherwise he would have been; for there were great dissensions betwixt him and his father, especially after his father was married to his second wife.

"After many royal favours, the greatest, wherein the said King did express the most of his affection and respect unto this Earl, was his willingness to have his niece the Lady Eleanor Brandon, his youngest sister's youngest daughter, married to this Earl's eldest son, Henry Lord Clifford, which marriage was accomplished and solemnized at Midsummer, the 27th year of his reign, in 1537, in the house of her father Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, which was then a goodly palace in Southwark, near London, and Hard by St. Mary Overy's there, where the King himself was present in person at the marriage, which marriage was solemnized that time four years, after the death of the said Lady Eleanor's mother, who was Mary the French Queen.

"For the more magnificent entertainment of the young lady, the great gallery and tower at Skipton were built, which gallery and tower so suddenly

built were afterwards the chief residence, when in Craven, to the Countess of Pembroke and Dorset; the round tower there being the said Countess's lodging chamber—the said castle being totally demolished in Dec. 1649, having been made a garrison on both sides.

"This Earl of Cumberland was one of the most eminent lords of his time for nobleness, gallantry, and courtship. He died April 22, 1542, aged 49.

"Henry, 2d Earl of Cumberland, was born 1517; married, when about twenty years old, to the Lady Eleanor Brandon, her Grace, the youngest daughter, and at length coheir to Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, by Mary, the French Queen, which Queen died about four years before her daughter Eleanor was married.

"Which daughter of hers lived wife to this Henry, Earl of Cumberland, about ten years and five months, half of the time thereof when he was Lord Clifford, and the other half when her husband was Earl of Cumberland; for she died in Brougham Castle in Westmorland, about the latter end of November, in 1547, and was buried in the vault in Skipton church in Craven, leaving but one child after her at her death, which was the Lady Clifford, Countess of Derby.

"The Lady Margaret Clifford, when she was about fifteen years old, was married in much glory in the chapel at Whitehall, King Philip and Queen Mary being both present at the said marriage, to Henry Stanley, Lord Strange, on Feb. 7, 1555.

"Which said Lord Strange, by the decease of his father, became Earl of Derby on Oct. 4, 1572.

"He died 1593, and the said Margaret overlived him three years and more; for she died Sept. 29, 1596, in her house, then newly built, in Clerkenwell, without the close, at London, when she was about fifty-six years old, and was burried in the abbey at Westminster.

"She had two sons by him, who were successively, one after another, Earls of Derby.

"Her eldest son, Ferdinando, Earl of Derby, died before her, leaving no children, but daughters,* behind him, the 16th of April, 1594.

"Her 2d son, William, Earl of Derby, died a little before Michaelmas, in 1641, leaving his son James, Earl of Derby, to succeed him, who was beheaded at Bolton, in Lancaster, in Oct. 1651.

"This Henry, 2d Earl, was, in his youth before he betook himself to a retired country life, a great waster of his estate, and sold much land, &c.

"But after, towards his latter end, when the said Earl lived a country life, he grew so rich, as that he did purchase lands, and leases and tythes, to a great value, both of old Sir Thomas Chaloner, the widow Lady Drury, and others.

"He was much addicted to the study and practice of alchymy and chemistry, and a great distiller of waters, and making of other chemical extractions for medicines, and very studious in all manner of learning, so as he had an excellent library both of writ-

* These coheirs of Earl Ferdinando were Lady Anne, married to Grey Brydges, Lord Chandos; Lady Frances, wife of John Egerton, Earl of Bridgewater; and Lady Elizabeth, wife of Henry Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon.

ten hand books and printed books: to which he was exceedingly addicted, especially towards his latter end, when he had given over living at court and at London, to which places he came seldom after the death of his wife, and, as we have heard, but three times."*

The Editor trusts he was few readers who will not be entertained with these interesting anecdotes. They will now peruse the beautiful Ballad of the Nut-brown Maid with increased delight, when they believe it to be founded on the real incidents of a romantic and illustrious House. Dr. Whitaker's History of Craven will furnish a multitude of other curious and amusing particulars.

ART. DCCCXIII. *On the Hero of the Nut-brown Maid—and on Kirke White.*

TO THE EDITOR OF CENSURA LITERARIA.

SIR,

I WAS much interested by your anecdotes of the Cliffords in the last Article; but surely the conjecture of Dr. Whitaker, respecting Henry Clifford, first Earl of Cumberland, being the hero of the Ballad of the Nut-brown Maid, though strengthened by the suppositions of my friend himself, must be inaccurate. Dr. Whitaker's mistake most probably arose from his unacquaintance with a prior edition of Arnold's Chronicle to that of 1521;

* Harl. MSS. 6177.

your's from forgetfulness of the fact, which stands recorded in your own pages.* The last entry in the list of mayors and sheriffs, in the copy of Arnold, in my possession, has the date xviii Hen. VII. or 1502, in which year the book appears to have been printed. The subsequent edition, described by Oldys, carries down the list of mayors, &c. to the xiith or xiiith of Henry VIII. or 1521. Now as the Nut-brown Maid is printed in both editions, it cannot be assigned to a later origin than 1502, and at that time the Henry Clifford spoken of was only nine years old; that he was the hero of the Ballad is therefore impossible.

The origin of the Nut-brown Maid is certainly a curious inquiry. If the credibility of a poet's testimony could as readily be admitted in the courts of literature as in those of Parnassus, we could at once determine the era in which it was written, though not its author. Prior says,

"No longer shall the Nut-brown Maid be old,
Tho' since her youth three hundred years have roll'd."

This carries it back to the time of the "dreadful Edward;" (Ed. III.) and other passages in Henry and Emma, which is avowedly founded on the more ancient Ballad, still more decidedly refer to the reign of that gallant Prince, who disdaining the inglorious task of awaiting the coming of an enemy on our own shores,

"Led his free Britons to the Gallic war."

* See it in Arnold's Chronicle, Cens. Lit. Vol. I.

The question is whether Prior really had a copy of the Nut-brown Maid three hundred years old, or whether he wrote under a common poetical licence, which ascribes antiquity to things recent, in order to increase the interest. My own opinion is, that the Ballad is much more ancient than the Chronicle: my reasons are, that the latter is more like the overflowing of a common-place book, a *melange* of heterogeneous and collected oddities, than a work of any originality, and that the phraseology and orthography of the Nut-brown Maid are both of a prior date to the commencement of the sixteenth century. Perhaps, however, I am myself mistaken; and, as I have my own hypothesis to advance, founded on what you and Dr. Whitaker* have said, I shall feel the more easy if I am. The more romantic air which the Ballad would assume, if the personages could be connected with real history, I must own would, with me, give it additional interest. I mean not, however, to take it from the Cliffords.

"The Barony of Westmoreland," says Dr. Whitaker, "was the inheritance of Henry Clifford alone." It was also the inheritance of his father Henry, Lord Clifford, he whom the circumstances of the times made a 'shepherd's boy, who was obliged to put on various disguises to secure himself from danger; and, instead of giving the festive treat in the halls and palaces of his ancestors, was forced to seek his own scanty portion in mountain solitudes and woodland recesses. He then may be truly said to have been

* This gentleman says, that "the word *spleen* was introduced into the English language by the study of the Greek physicians." I am pretty sure it may be found in Chaucer.

a "bannyshed man," and an "outlawe." For nearly thirty years he was obliged to forego the patrimony of his fathers, and in that period, if, as I surmise, he was the *real* hero of the Nut-brown Maid, the adventure recorded in the poem took place. The *great lynage* of the lady, and her being a *Baron's childe*, agree perfectly with the descent of his first wife, Anne, daughter of Sir John St. John of Bletsoe. Was De Clifford, however, 'an Erle's son?'*

Prior's "Henry and Emma," though beautiful in itself, does not please me when considered as "modelled" upon the Nut-brown Maid. The chasteness and simplicity of the original are all lost in his more extended poem. He has loaded it with meretricious ornaments; he has divested it of grace to make it fine. He talks of "angry Jove," of the "bridled doves of the Queen of Beauty," of Cynthia, and Cupid, and Mars, and Saturn, and the Dog-star: things unheard of in the exquisite piece which he professes to have taken for his archetype. I will admit that he has written a very elegant poem, but like Pope's translation from the blind Grecian, it is not Homer. To modernize the Nut-brown Maid appears to me a desideratum, and I should much like to see it done by your pen.

Kirke White.

What an amazing reach of genius appears in the "Remains of Henry Kirke White!" How unfortunate that he should have been lost to the world

* No: but such minute exactness is not requisite. *Editor.*

almost as soon as known. I greatly lament the circumstances that forced him to studies so directly contrary to his natural talents: and, though I admire the resolution with which he compelled his mind to pursuits uncongenial to his soul, I much wish that that resolution had not been strained to so high a pitch. A gentleman, from Cambridge, called on me some days ago, and said, it was his belief, as well as of many others at the University, that the immediate cause of the death of this lamented youth was the very close and severe application by which he prepared himself for the examinations then about to commence. He also stated, and I think the fact does honour to Cambridge, that the prize in every class, on which he had written, was awarded to him as if living, through the superior merit of his productions, and that the rewards thus deserved were afterwards sent to one of his brothers.

ART. DCCCXIV. *Several Letters of Mr. William Hammond during his three years' Travells abroad in France, Italy, Germany, and Holland,* [*from Jan.* 2, 1656 *to May* 6, 1658.] *Written by him unto his father Anthony Hammond Esquire of Wilberton near Ely, herein inserted and transcribed after the same copy's, as they were written by him.* 1695.

THIS is a MS. volume in the possession of William Hammond, Esq. of St. Albans Court, in the parish of Nonington, in East Kent, the descendant and heir male of the ingenious writer. Anthony Hammond, Esq. the father of the author, whose princi-

pal seat was at St. Albans Court, died at his house at Wilberton in the Isle of Ely, Sept. 24, 1661. He married Anne daughter of the celebrated Sir Dudley Digges of Chilham Castle in Kent, and had by her also a younger son, Anthony, who was seated at Somersham in Huntingdonshire, and dying 1680, was grandfather of James Hammond the elegiac poet, who died June 7, 1742.*

The following extracts regarding CHRISTINA QUEEN OF SWEDEN, are curious, as they were written by an eye-witness.

MOST HOND. FATHER, "Lyons, Aug. 28, 1657.

"The third of this present month I presented you my most humble thanks for your's of June 29th wherein I also presumed to enclose one for my uncle Edward Diggs. The rarity and variety of things incident to a traveller that lyes long at the same place, makes this paper come somewhat tardy after the rest. And since you have thought fit to communicate my uncouth lettres to my uncle, I am almost ashamed to write to Wilberton, when I can add nothing that may tend to the satisfaction of his queries. I hope before I quit these southern parts to be able to give a general and coherent account which may in some manner expiate the small progress I seem to make in the beginning: *Chi ha tempo, ha vita*, says the Italian; and if my uncle please but to allow me time enough, I need not despair to render a rational account of a matter of fact.

* From authentic family papers. See also Gent. Mag. Vol. LVII. p. 780; and Pedigree of the Hammond Family in "*Topographical Miscellanies*, 1791," *4to.*

" The remarkable variety that this summer has afforded us, is that 'tis now at length our turns to have a sight of the rambling QUEEN OF SWEDE; who lies incognita at a marchant's house, about a league from this town. There have been already sent over so many ingenious descriptions of her, that I dare not venture upon any thing that way; yet I believe the subject wou'd be different enough: for hitherto she has been described in princely and magnificent entrys and treatments; now the relator may search out expressions of a royall poverty, treated by the unmercifull haughtyness of a marchandising towne. Really, Sir, it is a very sensible and feeling sight to us ramblers, to see the Queen of Travellers crawle neglectedly thorow the proud streets of Lyons in a thredbare coach, drawn by six consumptive horses, that seem to have been kept at the same rock with Pharaoh's lean kine. Yet this cloude makes her quitt neither her spritely carriage, manlike behaviour, nor her hermaphrodite's habit. She still retains the humour of despising her own sex, and takes notice of no visits or obeisance, that women do to her. Our curiosity carried us t'other day to the country house where she lodged. The roome we saw her in, was decently spacious; at the furthermost end of which she was merrily reading a copy of verses to a Recollecte-Monke and two marchants; the other end was filled with spectators, most of which were the chief dames of Lyons, who had stay'd there almost an hour without the least notice, or nod of the Queen's; and at length were as negligently frighted out, by her Majesty's manly

collation brought, consisting chiefly of Frontinac wines and Westphalia bacon.

"Her traine was made up of all quarters of Europe, being in number about fifteen or twenty lusty fellows; some Italians, some Spaniards, but most Swedes, and many French. She keeps but one dirty creature of her own sex, who has no office about her person, but serves only to keep keys and looke after linen. The cause of her stay here is to wait the King's answer, of whom she begs leave to spend the rest of her time at Paris. 'Tis thought she may prevaile, coming in season, now his Majesty is pleased with his victorious reducing of Montmedy."

Paris, Jan. 16, 1658.

"The Queen of Swede has utterly lost her credit in France and Italy, since her putting to death the Duke of Parma's kinsman, her Major Domo; and it is said she is now gone to visitt Madrid."

"Florence, June 9, 1658.

"Since my last of the 24th of May, I am gott up as far as Florence, whither I arrived on the 6th of this June. The obliging civility of my uncle *Marsham's** nephew, Mr. Brown, forc't me to spend these fifteen days about the sea-coasts in seeing Lucca, Pysa, and Leghorne; where for five or six days I lodged in his house. Really, sir, the town itself is able to tempt a traveller to spend some days in considering it, which, though it be but little, is so

* Who married his aunt. The writer himself afterwards married his cousin, the daughter of Sir John *Marsham*.

neat and compacted, and does so swarm with people of all nations; and that multitude does so unanimously consent in an industrious way of raising their fortunes; that, methinks, my time was not ill spent in staying there a little to view them. 'Tis now the shop and center of the Mediterranean trade; and by the conversation I have had with the marchants and captains of ships, I fancy myself to understand all the several parts of the Straits: and, am afraid, understand more of marchandising than ever my brother D.* will doe; *sed ne sutor ultra crepidam.* Be pleased to pardon the physician, that meddles in feeling the pulse of all sorts of affairs, as well as that of all kinds of bodys. I will promise constancy to the profession you have put me upon; for, since I have escaped that grand temptation of turning souldier, when in my journey from Lyons to Marseilles I was so caress'd and allur'd by the French nobility, 'twill argue but a very low spirit to become wavering at the baits of any other profession, since all must truckle to that of war. I have not yet been long enough in Florence to know whether I like it, or dislike it; but however I find it, I am resolved Padua shall be my summer's seat, that by fulfilling my promise I may expiate the fault, I committed, in making such huddling haste out of Paris.

" I have not yet had the opportunity of hearing of the progress of the French army in Mantua; but when I came to Padua, one of the French colonells has promised to keep correspondence with me. We

* Qu. Dudley Hammond?

hear that the poor QUEEN OF SWEDEN is secured in Rome, and therefore likelyer to end her famous royall travells in a prison, than in a monastery. The reason why is not yet publickly known: some say, 'tis in revenge of the murder of her Major Domo in Fontainbleau; but most that she meddled in the Duke of Modena's interest against the Pope; and that at her passage from Madeira to Ferrara she endeavoured to make Ferrara revolt to its ancient master, the Duke. 'Tis also confirmed that the Venetians have lost their impregnable fort on the isle of Corfu, by an accident of gunpowder.

"These seas are now famous for none but our English exploits; and Generall Stokes is now scowring of them with some fifteen men of war; he lately took severall of the Majorcans, and executed some eight or ten English at Marseilles, whom he took in those enemy's vessells. The marchants expect him every week at Leghorne, where, 'tis thought, he will revenge himself of the town and castle, for having shot above two hundred shot at him, when he was last there; upon his siezing upon a Majorcan in their road."

"Paris, Oct. 27, 1658.

"I dare not presume to give any account of forreigne affairs, having missed the Gazettes for some weeks; but I may safely confirm the report of the famous Venetian victory over the Turks. What the proceedings of the King of Sweden are, is very doubtfully reported; some say, he carries all before him; others, that the Russian has fallen upon him

and besieged and taken Riga, which makes him leave the thoughts of Dantzick, and take care of his own kingdome. The manly QUEEN OF SWEDE about six weeks since past thorow this town with great applause, and visiting the King at Compeigne, is now returned into Italy. We hear of a loss the King of Spain had by sea in some of his West India ships; but are as yet very far from a certaine relation of it, further than that they were taken by our English vessells. But of all countrys I can hear least of England and its affairs. Our Protector's Resident lyes still in Paris; and when I am thorowly settled, I shall endeavour to informe myself from him, or his followers. being desirous to know the effects of this sifted Parliament."*

ART. DCCCXV. *Cibber's Lives of the Poets.*

OF the Lives of the Poets published in 1753 by Cibber or Shiels, a full account has been given in the late edition of the Theatrum Poetarum, p. li. but the advertisement of that work appears entitled to a more lasting register than the columns of a newspaper.

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* See Milton's Epigram on the Queen of Sweden, beginning "Bellipotens Virgo;" and many curious particulars of this eccentric woman, with a print of her, in Todd's Milton, VI. 266; where are anecdotes of her by another Kentish man—Dean Bargrave—copied by Mr. Todd from the Dean's MS. notes to a book in the library of Canterbury Cathedral. The print of her, here mentioned, is taken from Dean Bargrave's own sketch, which he had cut in brass. See *ib.* p. 270.

The Lives of the Poets of Great Britain and Ireland, to the present time. Compiled from ample materials, scattered in a veriety of books, and especially from the MS. notes of the late ingenious Mr. Coxeter and others, collected from this design. By Mr. Cibber. Printed, &c. This work is published on the following terms. 1. That it shall consist of four neat pocket volumes, handsomely printed. 2. That it shall be published in numbers, &c. 3. That five numbers shall make a volume; so that the whole work will not exceed the price of ten shillings unbound.*

"*To the public.*

"The professors of no art have conferred more honour on our nation than the poets. All countries have been diligent in preserving the memoirs of those who have, either by their actions or writings, drawn the attention of the world upon them. It is a tribute due to the illustrious dead, and has a tendency to awaken in the minds of the living, the laudable principle of emulation. As there is no reading at once so entertaining and instructive, as that of biography, so none ought to have the preference to it. It yields the most striking pictures of life, and shews us the many vicissitudes to which we are exposed in the course of that important journey. It has happened that the lives of the literati have been less attended to, than those of men of action, whe-

* The work extended to five volumes,—a similar exceeding occurred in Warton's History: the advertisement of the first volume says "this work will consist of two volumes, 4to.

ther in the field or senate; possibly because accounts of them are more difficult to be attained, as they move in a retired sphere, and may therefore be thought incapable of exciting so much curiosity, or affecting the mind with equal force: but, certain it is, that familiar life, the knowledge of which is of the highest importance, might often be strikingly exhibited, were its various scenes but sufficiently known and properly illustrated. Of this, the most affecting instances will be found in the lives of the Poets, whose indigence has so often subjected them to experience variety of fortune, and whose parts and genius have been so much concerned in furnishing entertainment to the public. As the poets generally converse more at large, than other men, their lives must naturally be productive of such incidents, as cannot but please those, who deem the study of human nature, and lessons of life, the most important.

"The lives of the Poets have been less perfectly given to the world, than the figure they have made in it, and the share they have in our admiration, naturally demand. The dramatic authors indeed have had some writers who have transmitted accounts of their works to posterity. Of these Langbaine is by far the most considerable. He was a man of extensive reading, and has taken a great deal of pains to trace the sources from which our poets have derived their plots; he has given a catalogue of their plays, and, as far as his reading served him, very accurately: he has much improved upon Winstanley and Philips, and his account of the poets

is certainly the best now extant.* Jacob's performance is a most contemptible one; he has given himself no trouble to gain intelligence, and has scarcely transcribed Langbaine with accuracy. Mrs. Cooper, author of 'The Muses' Library,' has been industrious in collecting the works and some memoirs of the poets who preceded Spenser, but her plan did not admit of enlarging, and she has furnished but little intelligence concerning them. The general error into which Langbaine, Mrs. Cooper, and all the other biographers, have fallen, is this; they have considered the poets merely as such, without tracing their connexions in civil life, the various circumstances they have been in, their patronage, their employments, and in short, the figure they made as members of the community; which omission has rendered their accounts less interesting, and while they have shewn us the poet, they have quite neglected the man. Many of the poets, besides their excellency in that profession, were held in esteem by men in power, and filled civil employments with honour and reputation; various particulars of their

* Winstanley published his volume as "*a brief Essay* of the works and writings of above two hundred poets," though his account only extends to one hundred and forty-five; and of those given, as a brief Essay, both incomplete and incorrect: this deficiency obtained the work more notice than has attended Langbaine's "Account of the English Dramatic Poets," which is still of intrinsic value, though neglected. "This author has been by many reflected on in order to acquire a reputation to themselves, yet he never had, nor perhaps ever will have a competitor for industry, diligence, and exactness, in the province he has undertaken." MS. note on L. 1760.

lives are to be found in the annals of the age in which they lived, and which were connected with those of their patron.

"But these particulars lie scattered in a variety of books, and the collecting them together and properly arranging them, is as yet unattempted, and is no easy task to accomplish. This, however, we have endeavoured to do, and if we are able to execute our plan, their lives will prove entertaining, and many articles of intelligence, omitted by others, will be brought to light. Another advantage we imagine our plan has over those who have gone before us in the same attempt, is, that we have not confined ourselves to dramatic writers only, but have taken in all who have had any name as poets, of whatsoever class: and have besides given some account of their other writings; so that if they had any excellence independent of poetry, it will appear in full view to the reader. We have likewise considered the poets, not as they rise alphabetically, but chronologically, from Chaucer,* the morning

* Having mentioned Warton, the name of Chaucer will serve for the introduction of the following lines, published anonymously, in 1774.

'On reading the criticism on Chaucer's Squire's Tale in Warton's History of English Poetry.

"As erst on Cam's green marge, with sedge bedight,
I mark'd in Chaucer's page how Sarra's Lord,
Begirt with many a swarthy Moorish Knight,
Crown'd at his birth-day festival the board.

Much did I grieve, that o'er a page so pure
Devouring Time had cast his dim disguise;

star of English poetry, to the present times; and we promise in the course of this work, to make short quotations by way of specimen from every author, so that the readers will be able to discern the progress of poetry from its origin in Chaucer to its consummation in Dryden.* He will discover

As April show'rs by gloomy fits obscure
The noon-tide radiance of the smiling skies.

Lo Warton came—from the romantic tale
To clear the rust that canker'd all around:
His skilful hand unlocks each magic vale,
And opes each flowery forest's rocky bound.

At this, long drooping in forlorn despair,
His painted wing Imagination plumes,
Pleas'd that her favourite strain, by Warton's care,
Its genuine charms and native grace resumes."

These lines must have been Warton's own, as he afterwards used many of them in his Stanzas to Upton. *See his Poems.*

* Dryden, in the Astræa Redux, a poem on the Restoration of Charles the Second, has the following couplet,

"An horrid stillness first invades the ear,
And in that silence we the tempest fear."

Which was ridiculed in these lines,

"Laureat, who was both learn'd and florid,
Was damn'd long since for silence horrid:
Nor had there been such clutter made,
But that his silence did invade;
Invade——and so it might, that's clear;
But what did it invade? an Ear!"

Capt. Radcliff's News from Hell.

the gradual improvements made in versification, its rise and fall; and, in a word, the complete history of poetry will appear before him. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, for instance, numbers and harmony were carried to a great perfection by the Earl of Surry, Spenser, and Fairfax; in the reign of James and Charles the First, they grew harsher; at the Restoration, when taste and politeness began again to revive, Waller restored them to the smoothness they had lost: Dryden reached the highest excellence of numbers, and completed the power of poetry.

"In the course of this work we shall be particular in quoting authorities for every fact advanced, as it is fit the reader should not be left at an uncertainty; and where we find judicious criticisms on the works of our authors, we shall take care to insert them, and shall seldom give our opinion in the decision of what degree of merit is due to them. We may venture, however, in order to enliven the narration as much as possible, sometimes to throw in a reflection, and, in facts, that are disputed, to sum up the evidence on both sides. But though

Notwithstanding this burlesque, Shakspeare has something like it, and which perhaps Dryden thought of—

"The hum of either army stilly sounds.

Henry 5th.

Errat. stilly means continually, &c. perh. but qu? [This is copied from the hand-writing of the late Dr. Farmer, who, from the words abbreviated, appears to have doubted as to the strict sense of the word stilly. Mr. Malone explains it gently, lowly.]

the poets were often involved in parties, and engaged in the vicissitudes of state, we shall endeavour to illustrate their conduct, without any satirical remarks, or favourable colouring; never detracting from the merit of one, or raising the reputation of another, on account of political principles."

J. H.

END OF VOL. IX.

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